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THE
CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

NO. LXXVII.—JULY, 1854.

Vol. **XIX.**

New-York:
LEWIS COLBY AND JOSEPH BALLARD,
122 NASSAU-STREET.
1854.

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The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. With an Introductory Essay upon his Philosophical and Theological Opinions. Edited by Professor SHEDD. 7 vols. 12mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853.

THANKS to the enterprising publishers for these beautiful volumes, and thanks also to the accomplished editor for the careful and orderly manner of their publication. They are deficient only in a single particular, and that is a complete index, which ought always to be attached to works of such extent and value. Most cultivated persons are acquainted more or less with the character and genius of Coleridge. His place as a poet and a thinker, by common consent, has been assigned him among the creative and influential minds of his age. Inferior in breadth and grandeur of conception to the first order of minds, the Platos, the Anselms and the Bacons, he is fully equal to those of the second class, the Berkeleys, the Schellings, the Jacobis, and the De Quinceys. He stands above the mere abstract philosopher, in the imaginative power and fervid glow of his genius; he is also superior to the ordinary run of poets in the vigor and compass of his philosophical insight. Careless and fragmentary in many of his moods, he is yet a great master of eloquent diction; and although failing occasionally in execution, he ever leaves upon his reader the impression of vast resources. With the exception of the "Aids to Reflection," itself rather loose

faithful expounder of a philosophic system; and it has, in fact, led Mr. Coleridge to make various misrepresentations of Kant." We may add that it has led him to make various misrepresentations of himself; so that his published opinions, as a whole, are somewhat inconsistent with themselves, and demand in their interpretation, and above all, in their application, not only the grace of charity, but of philosophical discrimination.

Professor Shedd endeavors to defend the consistency of Kant, and by implication, of Coleridge; but we think not quite successfully. He quotes, indeed, some passages from Coleridge to prove that he abandoned Schelling in favor of Kant, but this does not materially alter the case. Nor can the system of Kant ever be brought into philosophical harmony, so long as "the pure reason" proves contradictory that which "the practical reason" affirms. The grand mistake of Kant, as Sir William Hamilton has clearly shown, consists in making reason not simply weak, but deceptive. His system is theoretically skeptical; a fact which he himself felt so strongly, that he attempted to break its force, by his work on the Practical Reason, or the necessary convictions of our moral nature. Coleridge was unconsciously caught in the same snare, and while he extricated his intellect from it, by the force of conscience and will, he left reason floundering in the dark. Something must be taken from the systems both of Kant and Coleridge, as well as added to them, in order to give them anything like scientific validity. Some of the distinctions of Kant, and the greater portion of his reasonings, are of inestimable value. His investigations are original and thorough, and form an era in the science of speculative thought. They probably suggest the true method of philosophical inquiry, and must form, to some extent, the basis of all future inquiries in this sphere; but they leave the very foundations of knowledge in a state of uncertainty. Coleridge, moreover, transcended Kant, only by accepting the revelation of God in Christ, (which Kant doubted or rejected,) not by modifying the philosophical views of his master, either in the way of criticism or of application.

Still, while maintaining that Coleridge did little, in the way of independent investigation, to clear the domain of metaphysics of its difficulties and obscurities, and never brought his system, as such, into scientific or philosophical coherence, we agree with Professor Shedd, that he tended rapidly, on the practical or religious side of his nature, to such a result, and finally rested as a thinker and as a Christian, in the great truths of Theism and Christianity. His writings,

too, fragmentary as they are, and in many of their aspects, unsatisfactory, are eminently suggestive. They abound in the richest gems of thought, and constantly open into vistas of serenest beauty, grandeur and mystery. His thoughts, like those of Milton, are ever "wandering through eternity."

We are compelled, however, to say, that Coleridge found it hard to abandon, even in the sphere of theology, his speculative habit. He was constantly seeking transcendent *a priori* grounds for his doctrinal beliefs. Hence his speculations upon the subject of sin, which Professor Shedd, urging the validity of the *a priori* or *speculative* mode of reasoning, and thus plunging into the very depths of pure metaphysics, claims to have found *beneath the domain of consciousness, in the essential nature of man*. Hence, in imitation of Coleridge, from whom he borrowed the idea, the learned professor maintains that sin does not consist in conscious choice, or, as he says, single volitions, or in the faculty of volitions, but in the absolute indivisible entity or personality of man as a productive will. But we may remark in passing, that if this mode of reasoning is available here, it is available everywhere. If we can transcend our consciousness, and as the followers of Schelling and Hegel maintain, construct an absolute *a priori* science of spirit, then we might as well go a little deeper than Professor Shedd has claimed to go; and since the essential thing that we call the will or soul is a unit, which originally sprang from God, we might as well seek its origin, if not in God himself, at least in the immediate production of his creative power. But ontological *a priori* reasoning can never be satisfied to rest in any effect whatever, and as every created being, including Adam, is an effect of the Divine creative will, we are compelled to go back, step by step, in the metaphysical process, till we rest in this *causa causarum*. For if sin is not a matter of conscious choice, it could not have been such in Adam. When he sinned, he sinned, according to this theory, not from a single choice, or from the mere exercise of the voluntary faculty, but from *a deeper ground or nature beneath it*. So that according to Augustine, he fell before he ate the forbidden fruit. He sinned, in fact, before he indulged a single specific choice, or performed a single specific act. Adam, then, must have fallen before he was conscious of the fact; fallen not by an act or single volition, for according to Professor Shedd, that is *metaphysically* impossible, but by a nature, or dark unconscious ground beneath all "surface manifestations." Urge then the metaphysical or rationalistic process to its limit, and in the search for causes, you transcend the finite

altogether, and lose yourself in the infinite. Thus pantheism may be the necessary logical result of this method of reasoning, which both Kant and Coleridge reject, but into which the latter unconsciously falls, carrying, by anticipation, Professor Shedd, his follower, along with him, who seems equally unconscious of the fatal plunge. This is "central and simple" enough to satisfy the most thoroughbred metaphysician, who adopts the *a priori* or speculative method, but it utterly revolts our moral and spiritual nature, and every man, in his sober senses must reject it as absurd and blasphemous. Sin must be the act of a free, self-determining nature, and no such nature can commence a course of sinful acts, or ruin its own moral character, without a primary choice of *which it is conscious*. But the effect of that single wrong choice may be fatal; for the possibility of one such choice involves the possibility of all, and destruction may be the inevitable result.

But does not Professor Shedd break the force of all this by maintaining that man, each man, is essentially a free, self-determining essence or will, and if so, then is not pantheism impossible? Yes, but after all, logically or metaphysically, he nullifies this important assumption, by showing that we do not, as individual persons, commence our own simple acts or volitions, which spring from an unconscious nature which is sin, and therefore can not, in any proper sense of the word, regard ourselves as *self-determined* in the matter. Unless, indeed, he makes mankind or the race, consisting of innumerable individual personalities, a single personality in Adam. Metaphysical theology would seem to demand this, but by parity of reasoning, or reasoning on the same grounds, or according to the same method, it must deny the existence of all real individuality or even personality in the matter; and thus while merging the race in a single indivisible unit, called Adam or the race, might easily go a step further, and merge the whole in God or the universe. So that, by this method or calculus of reasoning, borrowed from mathematics, and forming the very essence of Spinozism, the metaphysical reasoner can not escape the logical vortex of pantheism. If he attempts to rebut this, by falling back upon the assumption that the first man, or the race in the first man, was freely determined, and by a conscious choice or volition, fell from holiness and God, then he nullifies the whole force of his general reasoning upon the subject, which proceeds upon the *a priori* hypothesis, that sin lies beneath the domain of consciousness, nay, that it is utter guilt and damnation, before a single soul of us is aware of it. So that on such a ground,

we might predicate the perdition of infants, who die an hour or a week after their birth. For where sin and guilt are, there death and destruction legitimately follow. Indeed, there is no end to the difficulties and absurdities in which such a theory of sin would inevitably plunge us.

But this by the way. We hope some competent hand will take up the question of the immutable distinction between nature and spirit, or necessity and will; for it is owing to a misapprehension and misapplication of this distinction, that all this confusion has arisen. It is partly due to Coleridge, and partly to Professor Shedd, who has misapplied the fine definition of nature given by Kant and confirmed by Jacobi, a thing the more singular, as Professor Shedd has himself more than once repeated the definition. "In nature as distinguished from spirit, there is no absolute beginning, no first start, consequently no self-motion, and consequently no responsibility. Nature, says Coleridge, is an endless line, in constant and continual evolution. To be in the middle of an endless series, is the characteristic of a theory of nature, says Jacobi." Thus "the development of nature," is necessary—"the development of spirit is free." It is not like "that of a movement in Nature, a mere and pure effect. If it were, a cause must be found for it antecedent to, and other than it; *and this would bring the process out of the sphere of the Spiritual or self-moved into the sphere of Nature, and make it a dependent unit in an endless series of processes, to the destruction of all responsibility.*"*

But leaving this intricate and thorny topic, we proceed, from our own point of view, and without referring to the estimates of others, or entering into special critical details, to give, with greater fullness, our estimate of the position and influence of Coleridge as a thinker. The estimate of course will be a general one, perhaps we might add, a generous one; for although assailable on logical or metaphysical grounds, Coleridge, we believe, was right and sound upon the whole. We shall not, indeed, confine ourselves to a strict analysis of his mental characteristics; for we purpose not merely to indicate his position in the realm of thought, but his relations to some of the great questions of the age touching the universe and man. On this account we shall make the discussion somewhat general and discursive. For, to us Coleridge possesses his peculiar attraction, chiefly as the representative of a certain style of thought in the sphere of philosophy and religion.

To thinkers, three solutions of the problem of the universe

* Coleridge's Works. Introductory Essay, vol. i., p. 19.

only are possible ; and through all these solutions such minds are liable to pass. The one in which they rest determines their position in the scale of thought, of mental and moral influence. These three are *Naturalism, Pantheism, Theism*.

Naturalism at heart is materialism. It proceeds upon the assumption that nothing is known to us except through the senses, which reveal the existence of a single, material, necessary substance, with its endless forms, forces and evolutions. It involves of course atheism, including fatalism, and to man as a personal agent, final extinction. What we call man forms a part in the ever-revolving series, which has no beginning and no end. Life is the brief day followed by the everlasting night. This system glories in its simplicity. It sees matter, or the forces of matter, in all things. Absolute material identity is its fundamental law.

Pantheism is the identification of all things, not with matter, but with spirit. It too holds to a *substantia una et unica*, but it is a substance of a higher order, with attributes of divinity and spirituality. The senses only reveal phenomena, which in themselves are nothing. Mind is the source of all knowledge, and all power. Mind alone is substance, indivisible and eternal. Matter is apparent ; spirit is all in all. This system is sometimes called absolute spiritualism, in which there is no individuality, no freedom or immortality, the dark ground of unconscious possibility, call it natural or spiritual, human or divine—no matter—from which all things spring, and into which, like vexed bubbles on the restless wave, all things return.

Theism is the doctrine of one conscious, ever-blessed God, above all, through all, and in all, the Creator of worlds, the Redeemer of men—the doctrine of conscious life, of productive will, of individual responsibility, of personal immortality.

To illustrate these, let us suppose a full grown man, in the maturity of his powers, such a man for example as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, poet and thinker, suddenly called into existence, and brought face to face with the external universe. Place him, if you please, upon some grand old mountain, at sunrise, and let his whole spirit, as he gazes, be filled with the magnificent spectacle of earth and ocean, woods, hills, lakes, rivers, meadows, villages and cities, under the kindling blaze of sunlight.

His first emotions would be those of overwhelming delight and awe. He is a part of the whole ; he too, soul and body, blent into one, catches the radiant splendor springing from the depths of night or nonentity. The sky is filled with the voice of birds. Nature sings. His spirit sings. Earth and

sky, man and nature, are melody together. They form the strings, so to speak, of a vast Memnonian lyre, touched by invisible fingers. 'Tis the old music of the spheres over again, the unity and harmony of Platonic lore or Orphic song.

But let him begin to question himself, or the universe around him, if he can distinguish them momentarily in thought; for all his questioning of nature must finally be a questioning of himself, as all his questioning of himself must at first seem only a questioning of nature. Am I this, or am I that? Am I nature, or something distinct from nature? It seems to be a part of me. I seem to be a part of it. Are we two, or are we one? Whence came we—what are we; are we parts, or are we the whole?

Let him return to the scene again and again; for at first he lives only an outward life, and pines to bask in the deepening splendor. By the supposition, his soul is just awakened from the slumber of death or nonentity; and all his thoughts and energies, impulses and delights, seem to flow into him from nature, as the waves of the sea, in a placid summer hour, flow into some creek or bay among the hills. He seems more indebted to nature than nature to him. The light is from the sun rather than from the soul. So at first it seems. All his thoughts and feelings are shaped and colored by nature. Earth and sky, sunshine and shadow, river, woodland and mountain, pass into him, and form his world. He sees them lying there—a beautiful, many-colored sphere within, corresponding to the beautiful, many-colored sphere without.

Thus he concludes that he is nothing independent of nature, that he grows or springs mysteriously into being, like a sunbeam or a flower. If he loves, he loves nature, something tangible and outward; if he worships, he worships nature. Sun, star, river, reptile, woman, all are full of life, all to him are divine. This is the history of early rude poetical nations. They worship nature, especially her more powerful elements, her more resplendent forms, fire, air, earth, water, winds, mountains, rivers, seas, woods, sky, sun and stars. Such was the nature worship of the Chaldean Magi, the Hindoo Sages, and the ancient Parsees. And such also is the worship of the more recent Peruvians. Such moreover, was the early worship of Egypt and Etruria, and, to some extent, of Greece and Rome. We have called it the worship of nature, as it is the worship of "the natural man." It is not, indeed, the first worship of the race, for that was God-inspired, and thence had God for its object. But it was the worship of

the earlier nations, after the worship of the true God was dimmed or lost, the rude, abnormal reverence of unregenerate man. When reflective and scientific, as in subsequent times, the man ceases to worship, and simply admires the perfect system and harmonious march of things. By the supposition he is a pure naturalist. He never looks beyond the external universe or himself. Death is the limit of his sphere, the horizon of his existence. If anything is said about another world, it is something which does not belong to him, or if it does, it is beyond the woods, on the other side of the mountains or the seas. Life and mechanism are one. His highest conception of heaven, is that of a *Mecanique Celeste*. The universe is a beautiful but formal materialism, grinding along in its own dust, now turning to stars, now to men, and anon back again to dust.

It is probable, indeed, that our prospective philosopher comes to the conclusion that he is distinct, at least mechanically, from nature, but not so distinct as to be its superior. He is merely one of a marvelous series, set in between the past and the future, like a link in an endless chain; and so he spends his brief day in laborious trifling, without any clear notion of spiritual existence, or the possible glory of another sphere. Thus he is still a naturalist. Or he forgets all his inquiries, and abandons philosophy, giving his conscience to a priest, or lulling it to sleep in his own bosom; and so lives for the hour and falls into the dullest practical atheism.

But we have supposed him a thinker, and his solution of the problem of the universe is, that all is nature, or that all is matter and its laws, the soul of man being the same in essence as weed or star, steam or electricity. He believes, as Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson, only in organization; so that the mind of man is but a complicated organism, differing nothing in kind, but only in degree of refinement and complication, from a Galvanic battery, an Eolian lyre or a Jewsharp. Or nothing is said either of matter or spirit, and the position is simply held that nothing can be known but the laws of the single existence, which we call the universe, and thence that the common ideas of God, of the soul and immortality, are the result of immature development, to pass away with the march of science. This is the position occupied by the celebrated French philosopher, Auguste Comte, who has been too hastily styled the Bacon of the nineteenth century. Indeed this, or some other form of naturalism, is the secret of the atheistic philosophy which is eating into the heart of French society. So far as we know, however, it is not cherished by a single individual of any high intellectual endow-

ments, as a philosophical thinker, either in this country or in England.

This then is the first solution of the problem of the universe, and its result in morals and religion must be indifference or despair.

But a second solution is possible. For as our philosopher gazes, in rapt wonder, upon the mighty spectacle above, beneath and around him, he discerns a principle not only of order, but of life. The aspects of the whole deepen, and as they deepen they change, and finally pass away. Still something remains. He himself remains. Thought, feeling, purpose, will, abide, as attributes of spirit. Thought, he says, is one, and feeling is its child. Thought is essential, thought perhaps is eternal. He passes from the outward to the inward, he finds the real, the substantial, the everlasting within. He moves, he shouts, he sings, he marshals words in harmonious order. He is a poet, a maker, a producer. These outward things, he says, are beautiful, but they are phenomenal. Their source is far inward. They are a poem, a creation, orderly and harmonious. They are the song of God. Thus he gains the normal idea of spirit, of creative energy, of productive will, apparently or momentarily distinct from himself, and perhaps he falls down and worships. But he says, Yesterday, I myself was not. My body was not formed, my soul had not yet emerged from the abyss of being. These outward colors doubtless are mine—they come from me; they are phenomenal, all outward things are phenomenal. But am I too, springing like them from nonentity, and like them a thing of yesterday, am I too phenomenal? Must I too pass away? Must I too be, as if I had never been? As forms fall back into nature, the substance or spirit which remains, shall I too fall back into the indivisible and eternal All? Yes, is his final conclusion—matter is nothing—finite spirit is nothing. God is all. God is one. God is alone—all that was, all that is, all that will ever be. Then all is divine, I am divine. I am the same with earth and sky. I am the same with God. Weed and star, the universe and man are divine. There is only one absolute existence, and these changes and variations in me and around me are only apparent, like the music which floats a few brief moments in the summer air, and then dies forever.

According to this view, then, there is something of the Divine Essence or Spirit in us all, but not as distinct from God or the absolute One; and thence as we spring from God, we return to God. Consciousness, with all its possibilities, is a finite momentary thing. To-day it throbs in the soul. Yes-

terday it was nothing. To-morrow it will be nothing again. God is all—all is God.

This is pantheism, in its higher form, not the gross material pantheism of India and the Brahmins, but the refined, poetical, popular pantheism of modern Europe. It appeared of old in Greece among the disciples of Xenophanes and Heraclitus. It modifies though it does not make the system of Plato, and runs through much of the literature both of Greece and Rome. Its occasional tendency, in the domain of art and literature, is to exalt and beautify the productions of genius; for it is not only ideal and mystical, but it is an exaggeration and perversion of that eternal truth, that God, while distinct from man and distinct from the universe, as a conscious personality, is yet in all as a presence and a power, whence all things in heaven and earth reveal his beauty, his purity and love. So that we see God, hear God, feel God in all that moves, or breathes, or burns. His heart of love palpitates beneath the thin vesture of material forms. Thus pantheism, error though it be, would lead the poet, the sculptor, the painter, directly to nature, would embosom them, so to speak, in The All, and give a beauty, richness and universality to their productions akin to that of earth, sea and sky. With a deeper sense of the grandeur of nature, as springing from the centre of being, they would hear, and echo, "the earth beat, sea beat, heart beat which makes the tune to which the sun rolls, and the globule of blood, and the sap of trees." This is the great charm of Novalis, of Lessing, of Jean Paul Richter, and Goethe, all of whom were pantheistic in their beliefs and tendencies. This too is the attraction of the more tender and picturesque portions of the writings of Carlyle and Emerson. A slight gleam of it appears in Wordsworth and Tennyson.

It is owing to this circumstance that pantheism is the maelstrom of genius and speculation. It is the great gulf, masked to the common eye with sun-bright shadows, but deepening and deepening forever into the heart of abysmal night.

It first appeared in modern times, at the revival of learning in Italy, in Giordano Bruno, half poet and philosopher, half madman and martyr together, for he was burnt at Rome by order of the Inquisition. It received its most complete scientific expression in the seventeenth century, from Benedict Spinoza, a Jew of Amsterdam, of singular force and depth of character, who maintained in a treatise of compactest logic, in the mathematical form, that there is only one substance, having two attributes, or rather manifestations, thought

and extension. These he designated as *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*, that is, nature as producing, and nature as produced, or as we might term it, nature as creating, and nature as created, both being equally indissoluble and eternal.

It was taken up by Schelling and Hegel, though in different forms, and presented to the German public, in a system of such breadth, order and magnificent proportion, as to astonish the thinking world. Schelling, who is yet alive, a noble old man, with white locks and genial temper, is understood to have abandoned the system; but it lingers in that speculative country, to whom, as the Germans themselves acknowledge, God has given the empire of the air. The English and Americans are accused of preferring California gold, city lots, and good bank stock, or what some call substance, which after all is shadow, while the Germans luxuriate in cloud land and please themselves with dreams.

Pantheism, as intimated, runs through the writings of Carlyle, and colors all the speculations of that vigorous and poetical, but fragmentary thinker. In this country it re-appears ambiguously in Henry James, and obviously in Ralph Waldo Emerson. The latter has abandoned not merely Unitarianism, but Christianity, and not only Christianity but Theism, or the doctrine of a personal God, conscious and creative. To him nature is divine, as man as divine, but there is nothing but nature. Matter and mind, reptile and man, are identical, being parts of a descending or an ascending series as the case may be. All is soul and soul is all, so that God himself is the impersonal essence of the universe, the all-pervading Over-Soul, which now gleams in the glance of a tiger, anon thrills in the bosom of a man.

The system is spiritual, and herein lies its superiority to the gross materialism of the atheistic school. After all, it may come to much the same thing in the end; for it identifies matter and mind, nature and God. It is ethereal, exquisite and beautiful, the very homœopathy of speculative belief. But it has no creative God, no Supreme productive Will, no Father in heaven, no Redeemer, no personal soul even, no accountability, no immortality. Fatalism, stern, unalterable, is its eternal shadow. On and on forever, men and worlds revolve, in the constant evolution of change; and the only reality that remains is the unconscious abysmal essence which Hegel calls *Das Nichts*, or *Nothing*, but which Emerson, more poetical and sympathetic, calls essence, reason, nature, God, soul, all-soul, over-soul, as he happens to be in the mood. In morals it casts off all restraint except that of nature. Indeed according to Emerson, a man can

not violate his nature. If a devil he must continue a devil, if a saint a saint, if a sinner a sinner. Hence all things are alike. The distinctions of good and bad are obliterated; and together all are on the way to perdition or to glory. Emerson says, glory; for his fancy is genial and hopeful. But it is a dream, nay, the veriest dream of a dream. For on this theory, the bad man in the end is just as well off as the good one. The martyr at the stake and the murderer on the gallows are on their way to glory. Thus, says Emerson, "The divine effort is never relaxed; the carrion in the sun will convert itself to flowers, and man though in brothels or on gibbets is on his way to all that is good and true."*

Pantheism, however, is not atheism, as some have contended; it is its absolute opposite; but its moral results are often the same. One who adopted it said, that all nature had faded around him, all hope had died in his heart. He had lost his Father in heaven, his home beyond the grave; and the poor substitute of an absolute abstraction, at first rich as sunlight, had grown cold and colorless as death. He had given up his God, his Redeemer, and his hope of heaven, and found instead a vague abstraction, a dismal nonentity.

But there is a third solution of the problem of the universe, and this is the one into which Coleridge passed from the dark ground of pantheism. Let us resume, however, for a moment, the company of our imaginary philosopher, face to face with nature. He gazes, he wonders, he worships. An awful sense of the power and majesty of nature has taken possession of his soul. But he is distinct from nature. He thinks, he feels, he plans, he loves, he moves, moves himself, moves nature around him. Ideas of truth, of justice, of goodness and perfection, which could not come from nature, animate the soul. He is a person, a distinct, free, responsible, productive will. His works are separate from himself; so he concludes that nature which is organic and phenomenal, though dependent upon God, may yet be separate from God. God is what he is, by virtue of his being. And as thought, purpose, plan, are embodied in the universe, thought, purpose, plan, are in God. He created nature; he created man; he created him a spirit—a free, responsible, self-determining will. But what is in the effect here as finite must be in the cause as infinite. God then is a free, holy, productive Will. He produced all things; he brought them by his own creative energy, from the depths of being. God then is the Father

*Rep. Men, p. 132.

of spirits, and we are his offspring. This is the solution of the Bible. This is the solution especially of Christ, who, as the Son, reveals the Father. Our philosopher believes it, and kneeling down before the rising sun, which he was inclined at first to worship, he worships the Eternal God. Hark! how solemnly, how thrillingly his words mingle with the voices of nature—"Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done. Father—Father—Father, bless me thy child! For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever, Amen!"

Thus Coleridge gives the true attitude of his mind when he represents himself as worshipping before sunrise in the vale of Chamouni. For it was not the morning star hanging above Mont Blanc, nor Mont Blanc itself, parent of perpetual streams, "visited all night by troops of constellations," nor the rising sun, coming up from behind the awful "soveran of the Alps," nor that whole Alpine world, sunk deep into "the sunless foundations" of the earth, but the great Jehovah who made the whole and clothed it with beauty and grandeur.

"I gazed upon thee
Till thou still present to the bodily sense,
Didst vanish from my thought: entranced in prayer
I worshipped the Invisible alone."

But not alone with nature under the open sky did Coleridge worship God. He loved the place of prayer, the old church, hallowed by the memories of the past, sanctified by the worship of the present. The pantheist shuns the church as "a dungeon," contemns its worshippers as formalists or simpletons, and prefers to spend his Sabbaths in selfish solitude. How different the reverent spirit of Coleridge. Once he had been alone on the desolate sea of pantheism, and could adopt the words of his own "Ancient Marinere."

"O wedding guest! this soul hath been
Alone on a wide wide sea:
So lonely 'twas that God himself
Scarce seemed there to be."

But now he could say:

"O sweeter than the marriage feast,
'Tis sweeter far to me,
To walk together to the kirk
With a goodly company!
To walk together to the kirk,
And all together pray,
While each to his great Father bends,
Old men, and babes, and loving friends,
And youths and maidens gay."

Coleridge was a great poet, a man of rich and rare endowments, and of a singularly fascinating speech. His conversation, unjustly caricatured by Carlyle, was a wonder, as Chalmers, Maurice, Hare, De Quincey and Professor Wilson unanimously testify, reminding them now of organ chants and rolling seas, and anon of murmuring zephyrs, and the hum of bees among summer flowers. But he was vastly more than all this. He was a great meditative religious thinker and philosopher. Often sick, depressed and sorrowful, with a feeble frame, and perhaps, as De Quincey suggests, a feeble will, all wounded and scarred by sin, as he himself honestly and mournfully confesses, he drew nearer and nearer to the centre and essence of things, and in forms of richer eloquence than that of any other Englishman of modern times, expounded and defended the great truths of God, the soul and immortality. Indeed he created an era in English theological literature. With all his faults and aberrations he yet wields and is destined to wield an overmastering power. And for this obvious reason, that notwithstanding every abatement, he planted himself upon the reality of things, and in his own experience passed from naturalism to spiritualism, and from spiritualism to Theism and Christianity. Indeed, in his view, Theism and Christianity are identical; reason and faith are one.

The truth is, both Coleridge's reason and heart demanded a personal God, with whom he might enter into relations of fellowship and love. That generous, comprehensive nature of his was born for reverence and worship. Hence, he found his ideal in Christ, in God. After speaking (*Aids to Reflection*, pp. 361, 362) of the sad effect of the tendency prevalent in his day, to confound nature and God, in begetting a distaste for all the peculiar doctrines of the Christian faith, the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the Redemption, he adds: "Alas! even the sincerest seekers after light are not safe from the contagion. Some have I known constitutionally religious—I speak feelingly; for I speak of that which for a brief period was my own state—who under this unhealthful influence have been so estranged from the heavenly Father, the living God, as even to shrink from the personal pronouns applied as to the Deity. But many do I know and yearly meet with, in whom a false and sickly taste coöperates with the prevailing fashion; many, who find the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, far too real, far too substantial; who feel it more in harmony with their indefinite sensations,

'To worship nature in the hill and valley,
Not knowing what they love;'

and, (to use the language, but not the sense and purpose of the great poet of our age,) would fain substitute for the Jehovah of the Bible,

'A sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air;
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.' WORDSWORTH.

And this from having been educated to regard the divine Omnipresence in any sense, rather than the only safe and legitimate one, the presence of all things to God.

"Be it, however, that the number of such men is comparatively small; and be it, (as in fact it often is,) but a brief stage, a transitional state in the period of intellectual growth, yet among a numerous and increasing class of the higher and middle ranks there is an onward withdrawing from the life and personal being of God, a turning of the thoughts exclusively to the so called physical attributes, to the omnipresence in the counterfeit form of ubiquity, to the immensity, the infinity, the immutability, the attributes of *space*, with a notion of power as the *substratum*—a *Fate* in short, not a moral creator and governor. Let intelligence be imagined, and wherein does the conception of God differ essentially from that of gravitation, (conceived as the cause of gravity,) in the understanding of those who represent the Deity not only as a necessary, but as a necessitated being; those for whom justice is but a scheme of general laws, and holiness and the divine hatred of sin, yea and sin itself, are words without meaning, or accommodations to a rude and barbarous age?"

In the same spirit he rejected or greatly modified some of his own metaphysical speculations, particularly those in the *Biographia Literaria*, conceived in the spirit of Schelling's "identical philosophy," in which a pantheistic element prevails. Thus, in his "Table Talk," he says: "The metaphysical disquisition at the end of the *Biog. Literaria*, is informed and immature. It contains the fragments of the truth, but it is not fully thought out. It is wonderful to myself to think how infinitely more profound my views now are, and yet how much clearer they are withal. The circle is completing. The idea is coming round to, and to be the common sense." On the same ground, he rejected the bald Unitarianism of his

earlier days. By means of a deeper philosophy, and above all, a deeper faith, he came round to the great truths of the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ, the Redemption and Renewal of the soul, in which faith he died. "I own," says he, "under God, my return to the faith, to my having gone much further than the Unitarians, and so having come round to the other side." "Socinianism," he says in another place, (*Lit. Remains*, v., pp. 542,) "is not a religion, but a theory, and that too, a very pernicious, or, a very unsatisfactory theory. Pernicious, for it excludes all our deep and awful ideas of the perfect holiness of God, his justice and his mercy, and thereby makes the voice of conscience a delusion, as having no correspondent in the character of the legislator; regarding God as merely a good-natured pleasure giver, so happiness is produced, indifferent to the means: unsatisfactory, for it promises forgiveness without any solution of the difficulty of the compatibility of this with the justice of God; in no way explains the fallen condition of man, nor offers any means for his regeneration."* It was on the ground of the spirituality and personality of God, manifested in the incarnation, that Coleridge attached so much importance to the distinction between subject and object, of which Carlyle has spoken with such groundless contempt. For, if subject and object are identical, as the pantheists maintain, then nature and God are identical, spirit and matter are one. — Man is the mere link of an ever rolling chain, or a mere manifestation of the universal Over-Soul coming to consciousness in the thought and volition of man. A system which, however garnished with high-sounding words, must in the end produce a monstrous, all-devouring egoism; so that God and the universe, time and eternity, will finally be absorbed by this great I, a thing which would be ridiculous, were it not Satanic. So that the celebrated caricature announced in Coleridge's day as a Dithyrambic Ode by Querkopf Von Klubstick, Grammarian and a Subrector in Gymnasia, &c., &c., is not so far from the truth after all:

"The form and the substance are I all I.
 You and he, (you and I.
 All souls and all bodies are I itself I,
 All I itself I.
 Fools! a truce with this starting,)
 All my I, all my I."

The same great truth is the ground of his distinction, so

* Coleridge here speaks of Socinianism or Unitarianism as a system, simply. He generously concedes, as we cheerfully do, that some Unitarians are vastly better than their system, nay, that some of them are truly evangelical Christians.

frequently and so earnestly insisted upon, between understanding and reason, or between mere logic and faith, whether in the domain of philosophy or religion. Coleridge saw clearly enough as some of the profoundest thinkers of modern times have seen, Pascal, Kant, Jacobi, Vinet and Hamilton, that what is ordinarily termed reason, or the mere formal intellect, can never grasp spiritual and eternal verities, and that it is only by some higher exercise or faculty of the soul that spiritual and invisible realities become substantial in our minds. In fact, the things of the spirit, which are the things of God, life, freedom, responsibility, redemption, immortality, all lie out of the domain of space and time, and are not to be determined by any mechanical ideas of cause and effect. Mere speculative reason applied formally to matters beyond its sphere, lands us in difficulties and absurdities from which it furnishes no means of escape. "Wherever," says Coleridge, "the forms of reasoning appropriate only to the natural world, are applied to spiritual realities, it may be truly said, that the more strictly logical the reasoning is in all its parts, the more irrational it is as a whole."

Hence, Coleridge, though caught sometimes in the snare of speculation, is no rationalist, in the ordinary sense of the term, but a reverent believer on the ground of a higher unity between reason and faith. But in his view, reason is a deeper instinct, a grander, purer, diviner faculty, than the dry, formal intellect, the abstract speculative reason of the schools. He accepted, in fact, the great aphorism of Augustine, that we must believe in order to understand. Leibnitz, Pascal, Kant, Vico, Jouffroy and Hamilton, have accepted the aphorism, not simply in religion, but in philosophy. It lies at the basis of all possible knowledge, of all possible reasoning. Thus, according to Coleridge, reverence and humility are the beginning and end of all philosophy and of all religion. Nature and God, philosophy and revelation, require us to come to them as little children. We must be born again. "In wonder all true philosophy began; in wonder it ends; and admiration fills up the interspace. But the first wonder is the offspring of ignorance, the last is the parent of adoration. The first is the birth-throe of our knowledge, the last is its euthanasy and apotheosis."

Finally, this is the basis of Coleridge's distinction between nature and spirit: nature as continuous and fatal, a line, never ending, never returning, above all, never returning upon itself—a fixed series, in constant evolution, the onward and resistless march of an immutable process; spirit, as spontaneous and free, often returning upon itself and modifying

both its states and acts; spirit, self-conscious and self-controlled, and thus equivalent to productive will, presiding over nature and using it for its purposes,—the doctrine, in short, of God and of man, as free spiritual powers, the one infinite, the other finite, capable of love and choice, holiness and eternal joy. Hence, the possibility, nay, the necessity of creation and miracle, of redemption and resurrection. Hence, the glory and power of Christianity, the miracle of God reconciling the world unto himself. For this reason, Coleridge affirms that the most momentous fact in reference to man, is the fact that he is a sinner, and the most momentous question that he can ask is, Have I a Saviour? That found, all we have to do is to trust, to love, and obey. Then blessed is faith, blessed is humility.*

No wonder, then, that on these grounds Coleridge, with all his errors and failures, embraced Christianity as a system of redemption from sin and death, and that he spoke of the holy book in which it is recorded, in such eloquent words. "The Bible has been found a spiritual world; spiritual, and yet at the same time outward and common to all. You in one place, and I in another, all men somewhere and at some time, meet with an assurance that the hopes and fears, the thoughts and yearnings that proceed from, or lead to, a right spirit in us, are not dreams and fleeting singularities, no voices heard in sleep, or spectres which the eye suffers but perceives. * *

* * There the hungry have found food, the thirsty a living spring, the feeble a staff, and the victorious warfarer, songs of welcome and strains of music. * * * For more than a thousand years the Bible, collectively taken, has gone hand in hand with civilization, science and law, in short, with the moral and intellectual civilization of the species, always supporting and often leading the way. Its very presence, as a believed book, has rendered the nations emphatically a chosen race, and this too, in exact proportion as it is more or less generally studied. Of those nations which in the highest degree enjoy its influences, it is not too much to affirm that the differences, public and private, physical, moral and intellectual, are only less than what might be expected to be from a difference in species. Good and holy men, and the best and wisest of mankind, the kingly spirits of history, enthroned in the hearts of mighty nations, have borne witness to its influences, have declared it to be beyond compare, the most perfect instrument, the only adequate organ of humanity; the organ and instrument of all the gifts, powers and tendencies,

* See *Aids to Reflection*, i., 228.

by which the individual is privileged to rise above himself; to leave behind and lose his individual phantom Self, in that Distinctness where no division can be; in the eternal I AM, the ever living WORD, of whom all the elect, from the archangel before the throne, to the poor wrestler with the spirit *until the breaking of the day*, are but the fainter and still fainter echoes."

We now ask what relation these great truths pertaining to a personal God and the redemption of the soul by Jesus Christ, had to the character and destiny of Coleridge himself. Much has been said, we fear, in the spirit of Pharisaism, of his moral weakness, his irresolution, and imprudence, mournfully aggravated by his use of opium. But none ever had a deeper conviction of all this than Coleridge himself. Betrayed into this indulgence by a languid, suffering habit of body, and tempted to continue it by the pressure of a haunting torture, he manfully struggled against it, and by the grace of God gained the victory. We believe, with his affectionate and gifted son, "That the tale of his long and passionate struggle with, and final victory over the habit, will form one of the brightest as well as most interesting traits of the moral and religious being of this humble, this exalted Christian." Indeed, Coleridge, like Israel of old, was disciplined by failure and sorrow into the high and immortal beliefs which shed the peace of heaven over his latter days. His spirit was made perfect through sufferings. Deep was "the ploughing of grief," but it opened his soul to the influences of heaven. The light long obscured by tempest, broke forth amid the shadows of the retiring storm, and turned them to gold. So that the very clouds which obscured his morning and eclipsed his noon, touched by the Sun of Righteousness, gathered like a crown of glory, around the brow of the departing saint. We know not a thinker, unless it be Fenelon, Edwards or Pascal, who cherished loftier and more comprehensive views of the divine character, or bowed with a profounder adoration before the cross of Christ. "I have known," says he, in a letter to his godson, written a few days before his death, "what the enjoyments and advantages of this life are, and what the more refined pleasures which learning and intellectual power bestow; and with all the experience which more than threescore years can give, I now, on the eve of my departure, declare to you, (and earnestly pray that you may hereafter live and act on the conviction,) that health is a great blessing, competence obtained by honorable industry, a great blessing, and a great blessing it is to have kind, faithful, and loving friends and relatives; but that the greatest of

all blessings, as it is the most ennobling of all privileges, is to be indeed a Christian. But I have been, likewise, through a large portion of life, a sufferer, sorely afflicted with bodily pains, languors and infirmities; and for the last three or four years, have, with a few and brief intervals, been confined to a sick room, and at this moment, in great weakness and heaviness, write from a sick bed, hopeless of recovery, yet without prospect of a speedy release: and I thus on the very brink of the grave, solemnly bear witness to you, that the Almighty Redeemer, most gracious in his promises to them that truly seek him, is faithful to perform what he hath promised, and has preserved, under all my pains and infirmities, the inward peace that passeth all understanding, with the supporting assurance of a reconciled God, who will not withdraw his spirit from me in the conflict, and in his own time, will deliver me from the EVIL ONE!

"O my dear god-child! eminently blessed are those who begin early to seek, fear and love their God, trusting wholly in the righteousness and mediation of their Lord, Redeemer, Saviour and everlasting High Priest, Jesus Christ!

"O preserve this as a legacy and bequest from your unseen god-father and friend, S. T. COLERIDGE."

With sentiments like these, passed away one of the richest, grandest spirits that ever touched this mortal sphere—the friend and compeer of Southey, Wordsworth and Lamb—"Logician, Metaphysician, Bard," and we add, highest and best of all, Christian. A short interval separated him from his lifelong friend, Charles Lamb, a circumstance to which Wordsworth made affecting allusion in the following lines:

"Nor has the rolling year twice measured
From sign to sign, its steadfast course,
Since every mortal power of Coleridge
Was frozen at its marvellous source:
The rapt one of the god-like forehead,
The heaven-eyed creature sleeps in earth,
And Lamb, the frolic and the gentle,
Has vanished from his lonely hearth."

It is well to forget his failings; well to remember and imitate his virtues; well, O unutterably and eternally well, to follow him in his triumphant struggle with sin and sorrow, through the darkness of time to the splendors of that ineffable sphere,

"Where every flower, brought safe through death's dark portal,
Becomes immortal!"

ART. II.—NOTES OF A WEEK IN PALESTINE.

HERMITS ON TABOR.

MONDAY, *May 3*.* This day was allotted to an excursion to Mount Tabor. The region was not deemed entirely safe; and it was thought best to add to our company an armed horseman. We started from Nazareth at nine o'clock A. M. The ride to the foot of the mount occupied an hour and three-quarters. Some travelers make the time longer; but we had no baggage and moved at a quick step. It took us three-quarters of an hour to reach the summit. The path was circuitous and at times steep, but not so much so as to oblige us to dismount. On coming to the top, we were surprised at the sudden apparition of four men, who came forward from a recess among the ruins found there. Oddly enough, two of them had knitting-work in their hands, which they were diligently plying. One of them proved to be a Greek priest, a man of large stature and over eighty years old, who had come here, as he said, to spend the remainder of his days. He was a native of Wallachia and had traveled extensively. In addition to his Eastern journey, he had seen the principal capitals of Europe, as Vienna, Rome, Paris and London. He professed to be expecting the visible advent of Christ from day to day. He told us that he had been there (if my memory serves me) two years, and had not left the mountain during that time. In answer to my inquiry how he subsisted, he said that he lived chiefly on herbs, cultivated a small garden for the purpose of raising them, and relied for whatever else he might need on the Arabs, who, as he gave us to understand, entertained a special veneration for him as a religious devotee. The other three men were natives of the same province. Two of them having been to Jerusalem and the Jordan on a pilgrimage, had taken Tabor in their way on their return homeward; where finding unexpectedly the priest, whom they happened to know, they concluded to remain with him for a time. One of them was deliberating whether he should not take up his permanent abode there. The fourth person was a young man, a relative of the priest, who seemed to have taken on himself the filial office of caring for his aged friend in the last extremity.

* The journey referred to was performed in 1852, in the months of March, April, May and June. The notes here published are fragments from the record of a week.

The (belief which can not be correct, however) that the transfiguration took place on Tabor, has given to it a sacred character. Hence, it has frequently been, especially in former ages, the abode of monks: some of the ruins which remain on the summit indicate that they belonged to monasteries and churches. At the present day, the Latin Christians have an altar here, at which two of their priests from Nazareth perform an annual mass. The Greeks, too, show the remains of a chapel, where on a certain festival they assemble in great numbers for the performance of religious rites.

THE PROSPECT FROM TABOR.

It enables one to acquire a useful idea of the extent of the Holy Land and of the relative situation of different places, to stand, in reality or in imagination, on an eminence like this of Tabor, and there fix in mind the principal geographical points which lie within view, or which he is led to associate with the scene before him. The sea of Tiberias reposing in its deep bed, is distinctly seen from Tabor on the east, distant not less than fifteen miles. The moment when I first saw its waters flashing on the sight through the clear atmosphere, can never be forgotten. In the same direction the eye traces the course of the Jordan for many miles; while still further east it rests upon a boundless perspective of hills and valleys, embracing the modern Hauran, the ancient Gilead and Bashan. The dark line which skirts the horizon on the west is the Mediterranean; the rich plains of Galilee fill up the intermediate space as far as the foot of Tabor. Carmel lifts its head in the north-west. On the north we behold the last ranges of Lebanon as they rise into the hills about Safet, overtopped in the rear by the snow-capped Hermon, and, still nearer to us, the Horns of Hattin, the reputed mount of the Beatitudes. On the south are seen first the summits of Gilboa and then the mountains and valleys of Ephraim, along which the mind glances till it soon reaches Zion and Moriah. Near the Jordan I saw a rising cloud of smoke: it was said to mark the site of Bysan, (the town itself was not visible,) the ancient Bethshean, where the Philistines impaled the head of Saul after the slaughter on Gilboa. Looking across a branch of the plain of Esdraelon to an opposite ridge, I beheld Endor, where the unhappy king consulted the sorceress on the night before his fatal battle. The fountain of Jezreel, where his forces then lay encamped, is but a few miles off. I had passed it two days before. Another little village clings to the same hill-side on which I

gazed with still deeper interest: it is Nain, unquestionably the village of that name in the New Testament, where the Saviour touched the bier and restored to life the widow's son. I can say unaffectedly that I thank God for having been permitted to stand on such a spot and survey with my own eyes the scene sketched above in so imperfect a manner.

A VIEW OF HERMON.

Tuesday, May 4. Left Nazareth at nine o'clock A. M., for the sea of Tiberias. At the distance of half an hour, we rose to the top of a hill, which gave us our parting view of the early home of the Saviour. The village showed itself here under some new aspects. It could be seen from end to end as it lay stretched along the side and foot of the hill. A larger sweep of the valley which runs past it was brought into view. The sudden expansion of the valley in front of the town, appeared to better advantage than anywhere else. But the height remains fixed in my memory chiefly for another reason: it was here that I enjoyed my grandest view of Jebel esh-Sheikh, the lofty Hermon of the Scriptures. The sight was wholly unexpected. The mountain was concealed one moment, and the next, on ascending a few steps higher, stood arrayed before me with an imposing effect, which I can not easily describe. I saw this mountain from different points of view, but never when it impressed me as then and there. It rose immensely above every surrounding object. The purity of the atmosphere caused it to appear near, though it was in reality many miles distant. The snow on its head and sides sparkled under the rays of the sun, as if it had been robed in a vesture of silver. In my mind's eye at that moment, it had none of the appearance of an inert mass of earth and rock, but glowed with life and animation. It stood there, athwart my path as it were, like a mighty giant rearing his head toward heaven and swelling with the proud consciousness of strength and majesty. I felt how natural was the Psalmist's personification; his language springs spontaneously to the lips—"The north and the south, thou hast created them: Tabor and Hermon rejoice in thy name." (Ps. 89: 12.)

SPORTS OF BOYS.

After an hour's ride, we came to Er-Reineh, a small village inhabited by Greek Christians and Mussulmans. We passed it a little on the left. Here was a fountain where a sarcophagus with some sculptured figures on one side, served

as a drinking trough. This is a use to which I saw that article often applied. It was quite an unexpected sight to me here to look up and see a paper kite floating gracefully in the air. A boy was amusing himself with it. The frame, shape and pendant gave it exactly the appearance of one of our Yankee kites. Some one has remarked that customs are handed down from age to age, with less change among boys, than through any other medium. The transmission of the same sports among them, not only in the same countries, but in different countries and nations, affords perhaps some confirmation of this remark. At Zebedany, a village on Anti-Lebanon, I saw a group of boys playing leap-frog; at Kerak, another village in the same region, I saw them playing bat and ball, and at another place, (I have forgotten the name,) I saw them playing hop-scotch.

THE MOUNT OF BEATITUDES.

Pursuing the road to Tiberias, not far beyond Lubieh, we came to a well, surrounded by a high curb-stone, where a company of Jews were halting to obtain water for themselves and their animals. At this point, the hill known as Kurun Hattin, the Horns of Hattin, was at a short distance off to the left. This is pointed out as the mount on which the Saviour delivered the discourse, recorded at such length by Matthew. Though the noontide heat was beating down upon us with scorching power, I could not resist the temptation to turn aside and examine a place for which such a claim has been set up, though I can not say that I have any great confidence in it. If it was not on this mount, however, it was on some mount in the vicinity, that our Lord uttered the discourse in question; for the sacred narrative implies that he was on the west side of the lake of Tiberias at that time. The hill referred to is rocky and rises steeply to a moderate height above the plain. It has two summits with a slight depression between them, and it is these projecting points or horns which give name to the eminence. From the top, the observer has a full view of the sea of Tiberias. The most pleasing feature of the landscape is, that of the diversified appearance of the fields. These exhibit different colors according to the state of cultivation: some of them are red where the land has been newly plowed up, the natural appearance of the soil; others yellow or white where the harvest is beginning to ripen or is already ripe, and others green, being covered with grass or springing grain. As they are contiguous to each other or intermixed, these party-colored plots of ground present at

some distance an appearance of gay checkered work which is really beautiful.

In rhetorical descriptions of the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount, we often hear the people represented as looking up to the speaker from the sides of the hill, or listening to him from the plain. This would not be possible with reference to the present locality; for it is too precipitous and too elevated to allow of such a position. The Saviour could have sat there, however, in the midst of his hearers; for it affords a platform amply large enough for the accommodation of the hundreds who may have been present on that occasion.

DESCENT TO TIBERIAS.

We crossed the plain of Hattin so as to regain the road to Tiberias, about two miles west of the commencing descent to the shores of the lake. It seemed from the brow of the hill there, as if one could almost throw a stone into the water; but the distance proved to be very deceptive. It must have been at least a mile and a half to the town of Tiberias, to which we now descended. The road was steep and winding, and in our impatience after so fatiguing a jaunt, seemed to lengthen itself out as if it would never end. Writers differ as to the depression of this sea below the level of the Mediterranean. The estimate of the English engineer, Lieut. Symonds, makes it 328 feet.

THE HOT BATHS.

Not stopping now at Tiberias, we passed along the shore about a mile to the south and encamped near the hot springs which are found there. The fame of these springs reached the ears even of the Greeks and Romans. Pliny enumerates them among the great natural curiosities of the world. Josephus mentions them under the name of Ammaus, no doubt (as both the similarity and the signification of the terms prove) the Hammath of the Hebrews. They existed, therefore, as long ago at least, as the age of Moses and Joshua; for the above name occurs in Josh. 19: 35. The place on our arrival was alive with a crowd of people, Jews and Arabs who had come hither, some to try the medicinal virtue of the waters and others for traffic or amusement. For the convenience of bathers, two covered buildings have been erected, into which the water of the springs is conveyed. The larger one of these contains a capacious reservoir, in which I found some fifteen or twenty persons swimming at once. Very few of them, judging from their merry shouts and the vigor with which they exercised their

natatorial powers, could have been invalids whose case had become as yet desperate. The room was so full of vapor and heat, merely from the effect of the water in its natural state, that it seemed for the moment as if my breath would be taken from me, and after a hasty glance at the premises, I was glad to emerge again into the open air. Accommodations exist for taking a bath in a more private manner.

The springs issue from the ground at the foot of the hills, near the shore and flow into the lake, which they render brackish for a certain distance. I put my thermometer into the water, but it was useless as a means of ascertaining the heat: the quicksilver flew instantly to the top of the tube. I then put my hand into it, but was obliged to withdraw it as quickly: the water proved to be little less than scalding hot.

It was easy to forego the doubtful pleasure of bathing in such an element; but it was not easy to resist the temptation of resorting to the lake for that purpose. Near the spot to which I retired, were two or three clusters of oleander, just then in full blossom, and displaying the perfection of its beauty. This was the first time that I had observed that flower; though after this it was rarely out of sight for a single day during the remainder of the journey.

A NIGHT SCENE.

My tent was pitched for the night within a few feet of the water's edge. There I sat for hours, looking forth upon the peaceful lake and revolving the thoughts which would naturally fill one's mind in such a situation. A gentle ripple was breaking at my feet with a noise hardly perceptible. Soon, the full-orbed moon showed itself over the hills of Gilead, and, mounting higher and higher, hung at length over the sea, from which its broad disk was reflected back as from the surface of a mirror. The Saviour often crossed and recrossed this lake. His sacred feet pressed its shores; here he stood and discoursed to the listening multitudes; here he performed many of his mightiest works. The surrounding hills heard his midnight prayers. His voice quelled the tempest which agitated with such violence these waters, now so peaceful. Most of his disciples had their homes in this neighborhood. Here they pursued their daily avocations till he called them to their great mission. It was at the sea of Tiberias that he showed himself to them on one occasion after his resurrection from the dead. I need not attempt to describe the feelings which such recollections awaken on the spot which they consecrate. The scene was so exciting that, though I had been riding hard through

the day, and sometimes had been so wearied as to be compelled to dismount and snatch a moment's repose under a tree, or "in the shadow of a great rock," yet all sense of weariness was now gone; the hour of midnight was past before I thought of rest or felt the need of it.

CONFIRMATION OF SCRIPTURE.

Wednesday, May 5. At sun-rise the thermometer stood in the tent at 60° of Fahrenheit. The sun came up in a cloudless sky over the hills on the east side of the lake. The water was still unruffled. Before eight o'clock the heat had risen eighteen and a half degrees higher.

In looking across the lake, I had before me the country of the Gergesenes, where the swine impelled by an evil spirit plunged into the sea. I was struck with a mark of accuracy in the sacred writers, which had never occurred to me till then. They state that "the swine ran violently down the steep place or precipice," (for the Greek requires the article,) "and were choked in the sea." It is implied here, first, that the hills in that region approach near the water, and secondly, that they fell off so abruptly along the shore, that it would be natural for a writer familiar with that fact, to refer to it as well known. Both these implications are correct. A mass of rocky hills overlook the sea on that side, so near the water that one sees their dark outline reflected from its surface, while their sides are in general so steep that a person familiar with the scenery would hardly think of speaking of *a* steep place or precipice, where the whole forms but one continuous precipice.

A CITY ON A HILL.

Safet, our proposed destination for the day, looked down upon us with grand effect from its frowning height. This town, perched upon the highest point in Galilee, may be seen distinctly in every part of this region. The oriental Christians say that Christ had Safet in view when he compared his disciples to "a city set on a hill." Some travelers in the East express the same belief, as if it were a matter well settled. But the supposition of such a reference is entirely improbable, first, because the expression would then naturally have been "the city set on a hill;" and, secondly, because such an illustration in that country would be apt to suggest itself for a mere general fact. Villages in Palestine are usually situated on hills, and hence are conspicuous at a distance. I frequently counted six, eight or more of them in such places, all within sight at once. "City" as

used in the English Scriptures, it may be superfluous to say, denotes hamlet, village, as well as a town of the larger class. Add to this, that the houses are often built of chalky limestone, or are whitewashed, and hence so much the more in that country, "a city set on a hill can not be hid." It will be seen, from this statement, how very expressive was the Saviour's illustration as addressed to those living in a hilly country where almost every summit glittered with a village.

JOURNEY TO SAFET.

We broke up our tents at half past nine A. M., and set forward for Safet. Our path for some time beyond the town of Tiberias was parallel to the coast, occasionally at some little distance from it and high up the side of the hills. Though we enjoyed there a good breeze, no zephyr disturbed the surface of the lake. It was so still, that as we looked down upon the water, it seemed like looking into the vacant air itself. A boat floating on its bosom at that moment would have appeared as if suspended between two skies. In an hour from Tiberias we came to Mejdél, a paltry village near where a line of high rocks overhangs the sea. In Matthew 15: 39, we read that Jesus, "having sent away the multitude, entered into a ship and came to the coasts of Magdala." Here beyond question stood that town, which gave name also to the adjacent region. It is remarkable, that the part of the plain nearest to this place, is now called *Ard el-Mejdél*, field or land of Mejdél. This was the birthplace, also, of Mary Magdalene. Beyond here the path began to descend and soon brought us to a broad plain, well watered and fertile. It lies between the hills which come down from the west and the north end of the sea of Galilee on the east. In forty minutes from Mejdél, we crossed a copious stream, hastening with its tribute to that sea. Here and there were trees and bushes so thick as to form a sort of grove. A few acres were planted with grain, but the greater part was given up to a wild, luxuriant vegetation. Few travelers fail to speak of the gigantic oleanders which flourish here in great profusion. This is the "land of Gennesaret," (Matth. 14: 34,) whence the lake, also, was called the "lake of Gennesaret," (Luke, 5: 1.) A pile of ruins occurs in this vicinity, which some would identify as the site of Capernaum; but the matter is subject still to much uncertainty. Chorazin and Bethsaida, smaller villages, are supposed to have stood between Magdala and Capernaum. The "woe" which our Lord pronounced on these cities, which so abused their privileges, would almost seem to have been

so literally executed, that every certain trace of them has been swept away.

The day was hastening to its close, when we arrived at Safet. We encamped on the north side of the hill, near the Jews' quarter. The elevation of this place, which is equal to that of the Mount of Olives, secures to it a pure air and a healthy climate. The cool breezes here were delightful, after breathing the furnace-like atmosphere about the sea of Tiberias. At night it required some effort to guard against the cold; but the deep slumbers which reward the traveler on such a journey for a day of strenuous labor, cause him soon to forget any trifling inconvenience of this nature.

INTERVIEW WITH A JEWISH RABBI.

Thursday, May 6. Safet is one of the four holy places, of which the Jews say that if prayer should cease to be offered in them, the world would instantly come to an end. The other three are Jerusalem, Hebron and Tiberias. I called this morning upon the Chief Rabbi of the Jews here, (they amount to about three thousand,) Jacob Berisch David, who is esteemed one of their greatest masters of Rabbinic learning in the world. It was an early hour for a visit, and being carelessly dressed on our arrival, he withdrew after bidding us welcome, and paid us the compliment of soon reappearing in a garb more befitting his age and rank. He was apparently near seventy years old, short in stature, but dignified, and with a head, which it is but doing him justice to say, a Raphael might have copied as a model. He had lived for some years in Europe, and had visited most parts of it. He spoke the German language with singular purity for a Jew. I received from him much information on several topics of interest to me.

VIEWS OF THE MESSIAH.

Some of the Jews hold, it would seem, that the Messiah has undergone repeated incarnations, has been born and died many times, that the world in fact is never without a Messiah, though he has never yet made himself known as such. The time for this revelation depends on the Jewish nation: when by repentance and reformation they have made themselves worthy of such a blessing, the Messiah will then throw aside his disguise, and by indubitable signs, cause his real, but now hidden character to be known and acknowledged. I asked him where the Messiah would first show himself in this manner. "Certainly in Galilee," he said; "but whether in the holy city of Safet or of Tiberias was a point disputed among them."

THE LOST TRIBES.

Some years ago the Palestine Jews sent a deputation into the interior of Africa, to ascertain the truth of a report that the lost tribes had been found there. I inquired of the Rabbi respecting the result of the expedition. It was unsuccessful, he replied; some of the party died on the way and those who went farthest and lived to return, heard of nothing to justify the report in question. He did not himself, he said, believe that the lost tribes existed in Africa, and though persuaded that they have kept themselves distinct from other nations, could not say that he had any fixed opinion as to the place of their abode.

I asked him how long the Jews were accustomed to receive instruction from their Rabbies—at what age they ceased to be regarded as pupils. The relation, he said, never ceases; unless they themselves become teachers, they continue to attend the school, and rank as disciples. This custom throws light upon the common, and no doubt correct opinion that the apostle Paul was a pupil of Gamaliel at the time of his conversion, and long after he had arrived at the age of manhood.

A JEWISH FESTIVAL.

It so happened that the evening of this day was the anniversary of a peculiar festival at Meiron, distant about six miles, a festival which is wont to draw together many thousands of Jews, not only from all parts of the East, but from different countries of Europe. On learning this, as it was but little out of the way, I decided to go thither and witness the celebration.

We left Safet about the middle of the forenoon and came in eight minutes to Ain ez-Zeitun, Fountain of the Olives, a place which well deserves the name. It was a goodly sight to look around upon the olives, fig-trees, almonds, lemons, and pomegranates, which favored by the soil and the climate, attained here a rare perfection. As we rode on, we overtook several companies of Jewish pilgrims, some riding, but most of them on foot. Many of them carried bundles in their hands, the contents of which we did not know then, but discovered afterward. We reached Meiron in two hours.

TOMBS AT MEIRON.

As the principal festival was not to take place until after dark, I had an opportunity during the interval, to examine the tombs which the Jews visit here with so much veneration. They are the reputed tombs of eminent teachers who

presided over the Rabbinic schools, which flourished here in former ages. Some of them, according to the Jewish belief, lived and died before the Christian era. Here among others, as they suppose, was buried Hillel, the grandfather of Gamaliel, Paul's teacher. For a long period of time, it was the great burial place of their most illustrious men of learning. No spot in Palestine, except Jerusalem, attracts to it so many Jewish pilgrims as Meiron.

The most remarkable tomb, so far as regards its structure, is an excavation on the south side of a hill, known as the tomb of Rabbi Hillel and his disciples. It is cut out of the solid rock. The entrance is through a narrow door, which obliges one to stoop. According to a rough measurement, I found the dimensions to be some twenty-five feet long, eighteen wide and ten high. There were thirty niches for the reception of bodies. Some of them were so arranged as evidently to distinguish their occupants above their fellows. In several of them were stone sarcophagi of immense weight, the lids of which ornamented with sculptured figures were partially slipped aside. No trace of any remains of the dead was to be found. The bottom of the cave was covered with two feet of water, and I was obliged to mount on the back of a man, in order to make my examinations. The Jew who performed the service for me, took up with his hands some of the water from the graves and drank it as an act of pious homage to the dead.

DIVERSIONS.

But the tombs which they more especially venerate, are three tombs at the end of a stone edifice which encloses an open parallelogram, about an hundred feet long and fifty wide. This was the great point of rendezvous. The apartment over the graves, a sort of oratory, was hung with burning lamps and crowded with worshipers. A spreading fig-tree stood in the centre of the court and furnished an agreeable shade. Around the sides of the court were alcoves or stalls, which were filled with people, along with their beds and other traveling equipments. Intoxicating drink was furnished abundantly and abundantly used; for some of the men were plainly under the influence of it even while they stood praying at the graves of their Rabbies. Various amusements were constantly going on. In one quarter was a crowd gathered around a couple of swordsmen, who while they sought to parry each other's thrusts, brandished their weapons in such a manner as to keep time with the cymbals, which others were beating; a double contest, in which the

performers had to show their skill as fencers and musicians in the same exercise. In another quarter was a group of dancers, in which the old man of seventy turned with what agility he could in the same gyrations with young men and boys; while the spectators sung and clapped their hands in harmony with the movement.

LOCAL TRADITIONS.

A deep ravine separates the hills of Meiron from a high ridge on the opposite side. I descended into this ravine to a beautiful fountain, sunk a few feet below the ground and loosely walled up with stones. A sparkling rivulet issues from it and flows toward the east. The Jews whom I met here said that this was Deborah's fountain; because that heroine bathed here on the morning when she went forth to fight with Sisera. Within sight on a neighboring hill was a pillar of stone, which the Jews said was Elijah's seat, because he was accustomed to rest there as he journeyed through this region. He will come again a second time, they remarked to me, and will then change the pillar into gold.

THE CELEBRATION.

The ceremony forming the climax of the festival, which the Jews had met here to celebrate, consisted of the burning of costly gifts in honor of their ancient teachers. It took place within the court of the building of which I have already spoken. Soon after dark, the crowd, which during the afternoon had been scattered hither and thither, assembled here, filling the court, the stalls and the gallery or corridor overhanging the court. The entire space was crowded almost to suffocation. A pillar supporting a stone trough or basin stood at one corner of the gallery, where every eye could see it. Near this basin was placed a vessel full of oil, in which the articles to be burnt were first dipped to render them inflammable. At a given signal, a man with a blazing torch mounted the stairs leading to the gallery. At the sight of this the hum of voices ceased; every one looked eagerly in that direction; it was evident that all were intent with expectation. The first article burnt was a costly shawl; the offering of a rich Jew from Jaffa, who was said to have paid 1500 piasters, about seventy-five dollars, for the privilege of opening the ceremony. The shawl was dipped in the oil, lifted to the basin, and the torch applied to it. As it began to blaze, the multitude raised a shout, which made the welkin ring; the men clapped their hands, and the women shrieked out the sharp, quavering note of joy which

one hears only in those eastern lands. The light thus suddenly flashed on the eyes of the beholders revealed a curious spectacle in the gallery which overhung three sides of the court. Men, women and children, wearing the various, in part picturesque costumes of the different countries in Asia, Europe and Africa, from which they came, occupying different attitudes, some standing, others sitting or crouching beneath the green booths erected there as a shelter from the dew and the heat, before concealed partially by the darkness, started now at once into view and gave peculiar animation to the scene. Other offerings, as shawls, scarfs, handkerchiefs, books, were brought forward, dipped in oil and consumed in like manner; while from time to time, as an article was seen to be specially rich or burned with uncommon brilliancy, the spectators broke forth into renewed expressions of delight. At length, another basin was prepared at the opposite corner of the gallery, and gifts were thrown, also, into that. The work went on with unabated vigor until it became so late that I was obliged to retire; and I was told in the morning that it continued through the greater part of the night.

RUINS OF A SYNAGOGUE.

Friday, May 7. Heard of some interesting ruins at a short distance from the tent. On going thither, I met a company of Jews, of whom I inquired in German what the place was. "*Es ist die Schule,*" they replied, and thus gave me no doubt the national tradition respecting the locality. In a few minutes, I stood before the facade of what must have been once a splendid edifice, undoubtedly a Jewish synagogue, dating from the period when Meiron was the great seat of Rabbinic learning. The southern wall still remains, comparatively perfect. The door posts consist of single blocks of stone, nearly ten feet high. The grooved work over the top and along the sides of the door, exhibits superior architectural skill. A rocky precipice, cut down apparently to some extent for the purpose, formed one side of the edifice. The building stones are of great thickness; several large columns lie prostrate in the neighborhood.

THE HILLS OF GALILEE.

We left Meiron a little past six o'clock, A. M. We struck down the steep hill into the Wady on the south, crossed the fine brook at the bottom of it, and, bearing toward the east, re-ascended on the opposite side. We pursued our way over a ridge of high ground, thickly set with low trees and bushes, resembling very much the rougher parts of our New England. We met with shepherds tending their flocks, es-

pecially goats with remarkably long ears. I do not pretend to have measured any of them, though I should *guess* they might have been at least six or eight inches long. The sea of Tiberias, of which we had lost sight at Meiron, was in view again for some time. We went in one sense out of our way, but the object was to pass around a high range of hills, instead of crossing them, and then turn on the other side of them to the south-west, which was our proper direction.

Having gained this position, our course for the remainder of the day's journey, lay along the bottom of a somewhat broad depression between two parallel lines of hills; a depression approaching the character of a plain and sloping gradually towards the south-west. At one point, the ground rose considerably and the hills came nearer to each other, so as to appear at a distance to shut in the valley on that side; but on reaching this apparent boundary, the hills fell apart again and the ground descended at times more sharply than before, till it sank down into the plain about Akka. The sides of the hills were well wooded with bushes and with trees of a moderate height; while the intermediate tract along which we traveled was highly cultivated. The olive groves here were the noblest that I saw in Palestine. Some of the trees, judging from their gnarled and decayed trunks, must have been as old as those regarded as so ancient at the foot of Olivet. Through this charming valley, the ancient caravans were accustomed to pass, (it was the maritime route,) which carried on the trade between Egypt and Damascus.

NIGHT QUARTERS AT BEROE.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we encamped in an olive grove, near a small village called Beroe, on the border of the plain of Akka and to the east of that city. Our tents were pitched behind a slight eminence which cut off the view towards the south and west; but by ascending that, distant but a few rods, we could see the Mediterranean, Akka, the monastery on Carmel and the whole expanse of the beautiful plain at the foot of that mountain. Beroe is put down on Ritter's Map, but has been generally overlooked. The villagers as they returned home at evening, stopped to look at us, but showed themselves civil and friendly. Of the flies I can not speak so favorably; they exceeded in number, size and ferocity any specimens of the kind, that ever fell in my way. Even as late as sun-set and though we were so near the sea, the thermometer stood in the shade at 78° of F.

RIVER KISHON.

Saturday, May 8. The event which signalized this day, was an ascent to the top of Carmel. It took us four hours to cross the plain in a somewhat diagonal direction. We passed on the way a high mound, which appeared to be artificial, the top of which was smoothed off to serve as a threshing floor. It was thrown up, probably, for military purposes in the time of the crusaders, who fought so many bloody battles on this field. We came out on the beach just north of El-Mukatta, the modern name of the Kishon, mentioned in the song of Deborah, as "that ancient river" which "swept away" the hosts of Sisera. Modern warfare furnishes its parallel to this. It is said that some of the Turkish troops whom Napoleon defeated in the battle of Mount Tabor, lost their lives in this stream. It was easily forded at the mouth, being partially filled up with sand from the sea, though at the distance of a few rods inland, it was so wide and deep as to defy any such attempt. The natives of whom we had inquired the way, told us that we must strike the river near its mouth, as otherwise we should find it impassable. The water was brackish where we crossed, in consequence of the vicinity of the sea, though not so much so that our thirsty animals were not willing to drink of it. It was on the banks of this stream, and probably not far from this part of its course, that Elijah slew the prophets of Baal. The contest between him and those idolaters, had taken place on Carmel; and from thence, it is said, he "brought them down to the brook Kishon and slew them there." (1 Kings 18: 40.)

MONASTERY OF THE CARMELITES.

Just beyond Haifa, a flourishing town on the south of the bay of Akka, we began to climb the ascent to Carmel. The path is rocky and steep, but so well worn that we could ride the whole way. It took us twenty minutes to arrive at the summit. The height is said to be ten or twelve hundred feet. The Carmelite monks, at present fifteen in number, have a monastery here, unquestionably the finest edifice of its kind in all the east. They affect the ascetic rigor of their prototype, Elijah the Tishbite. They wear no shoes but sandals; they abstain from meat, though as I can testify, they offer to the weary, grateful traveler other viands which cause him to forget the want of that particular article. The rooms set apart for the use of strangers, are very commodious. As compared with eastern houses generally, our reception here reminded us of a hotel in Europe or America. The chapel has altogether a modern air. The altar is erected over a

natural grotto, said to have been one of the abodes of Elijah, and held therefore to be specially sacred. The good brother who had me in charge, set forth its claims to veneration with much pathos, but made no objection to procuring a hammer and helping me chip off a liberal piece of the hard rock as a souvenir.

THE VIEW FROM CARMEL.

The best position for viewing the prospect from Carmel is that furnished from the flat roof of the convent. Standing here with my face toward the east, the attitude of the Hebrew in naming the points of the compass, I had behind me, of course, "the great wide sea," as the Psalmist calls it, which suggested to the sacred writers so many of their grandest images for setting forth an idea of God's power. Before me lay an extensive reach of the plain of Esdrælon, and the summits of Gilboa and the lesser Hermon. On the south-east was a mountainous tract, known as that of Ephraim or Samaria, filled up with a rolling sea of hill-tops to an indefinite extent. Looking to the south along the coast, at the distance of ten miles, was Athlit, the site of a famous castle of the Crusaders, one of the last footholds which they relinquished to the Saracens. A few miles beyond there, though not in sight, were the ruins of Cæsarea, so interesting from its connection with the fortunes of the great Apostle. The line of vision on the north was bounded by the hills near Nazareth and Safet. The projection of Ras el-Abiad, the White Promontory, concealed from view Sur, the ancient Tyre. The graceful curve of the bay of Akka, sweeping from that city to the head of Carmel, was seen here to great advantage. It was a glorious panorama, rich, too, in historical memories. More distinctness of outline would have added to the effect. The distance and magnitude of the objects, excepting a few near at hand, caused them to appear very much in the mass, a disadvantage which may have impaired the impression.

FERTILITY OF CARMEL.

Carmel is often mentioned in the Bible as remarkable for its fertility, and the beauty of its vegetation. Though the region has long been neglected, and exhibits on the whole a sterile aspect, the soil when examined still gives evidence of being naturally very productive. "The Flora of Carmel," says Schubert, one of the most eminent of living naturalists, "is one of the richest and most diversified in all Palestine, since it unites the products of the mountain with those of the valley and the sea-coast." He enumerates forty-seven different kinds of flowers found there, without pretending to

complete the list. "A botanist," he remarks, "might spend a year there, and every day be adding new specimens to his collection."

The plain between Haifa and the base of Carmel, though washed by the sea, is still cultivated, and is very fertile. One large tract was covered with wheat, the stalks of which could hardly support the heavy ears that weighed them down. There were orchards in which I noticed olives, a few date-trees, fig-trees and pomegranates. The Indian fig or prickly pear was abundant. Vegetables, especially cucumbers, were ripening under the eye of watchers who occupied lodges on the margin of the gardens, to protect them against depredation.

THE RIDE TO AKKA.

Our ride to Akka was along the beach, with the surf breaking occasionally at the horse's feet. We forded again the mouth of the Kishon. It was sad to see here and there, as we rode on, the ribs of the hulks of vessels embedded in the sand, and so much the more as it was a proof, not only of the violence of the storms which at certain seasons visit this coast, but of the imperfect skill in navigation of the eastern mariners. Just before coming to Akka, we crossed the Belus, now the Nahmen, as one of the natives pronounced it to me. It is deeper and broader at its mouth than the Kishon, and I was reluctant to enter it, till some of those who were passing had preceded and shown it to be safe. It was on the banks of this stream that the Tyrian sailors are said to have made the accidental discovery of the art of manufacturing glass. It was near four o'clock when we left the gate of Haifa, and it wanted but little of seven as we entered that of Akka. The time is often given as more than three hours, but we galloped a part of the way, and the distance from Carmel to Akka can not well be less than ten miles.

It gave a special interest to this ride to know that I was treading the ground over which Paul and his friends passed on his last journey to Jerusalem. Luke informs us in the Acts that the apostle on that occasion went by land from Ptolemais or Akka, to Cæsarea; and the road which he followed must have been that which leads at present along the sea-shore, around the head of Carmel, and thence onward to the south.

THE LATIN CONVENT.

Intending to remain at Akka until Monday, I took a room in the Latin Convent. Some of the party preferred a bivouac under a noble, wide-spreading tree, in the court of this an-

cient asylum. I saw but little of the inmates. In the evening, happening to hear the sound of voices, I followed the direction of it, and thus found my way to the chapel, where a company of monks were chanting their vespers. The immense area which the convent occupies, the number of rooms in it, the solid style and general plan of the structure, though time has now made sad ravages in it, show that in its best days it could have boasted of no mean rank among establishments of this character.

A PUBLIC PARADE.

Sabbath, May 9. I spent most of the day in my room. The Latin Convent where I lodged, is not far from the southern gate, and in the course of the day I walked out to the sea-shore, in that direction. On the way, I encountered a procession of people, going as I was told, to one of the mosques, to perform the rite of circumcision. The principal person in the group was a boy, apparently about ten years old, mounted on a horse, elegantly caparisoned, and having a canopy held over him by a servant. Another boy, superbly dressed; somewhat younger, followed on a second horse, and, near the end of the train, came two others, whom I took to be of humbler rank, seated on a single horse. Musicians preceded them with drums, hautboys and tambourines. Of those in the procession, some carried streaming banners, some carried rolls of costly raiment, and others various other articles of a showy description, suited to add to the pomp of the occasion. A motley crowd of men, women and children followed as spectators. The boys on the horses were eating sweetmeats as they rode along; the whole being a contrivance to divert their minds and prepare them for the painful rite they were to undergo. Such a parade, it is said, usually takes place when a boy is about to be circumcised, if the parents can afford the expense. If they are in indigent circumstances, they often take advantage of the circumcision of a rich man's son, by seeking to be allowed to join the procession, and repair to the mosque at the same time. The ceremony is not always so public; it may be performed in the dwelling of the parties, though even then the parade is seldom omitted.

VALUE OF STONE HOUSES.

This walk gave me a new idea of the value of stone houses in the east, as a protection against the heat. Within the walls of the Convent, which was built of stone, it was as cool as could be desired; though it was nearly noon when I went abroad, I had perceived no intimation that the heat was un-

commonly severe. But on issuing into the open air, the change of temperature was extreme; the heat produced a feeling like that of suffocation. I walked out of the gate along the beach as far as the mouth of the Belus; but even then, though favored with a slight breeze from the Mediterranean, the heat was still intense, and, after a brief trial, I was glad to escape to my comfortable retreat within the Convent.

ART. III.—FRANCIS HORNER.

Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M. P.

Edited by his brother, LEONARD HORNER, Esq., F. R. S.
2 vols. 8vo, pp. 554 and 575. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1853.

THE death of Francis Horner, in 1817, at the early age of thirty-eight, produced in England a profound sensation. The leaders of all parties in public life, and men of the highest distinction in letters and in science, shared the general sadness; all recognized in the event a public calamity, the extinction of one of the brightest lights of the country, the loss of a statesman, who united with great abilities and acquirements a scrupulous integrity and an unsullied honor, as well as the gentler virtues and affections that give grace and dignity to private life. Indeed, from numerous records in these interesting volumes, it seems doubtful whether Mr. Horner's death was felt at the time to create a greater chasm in public or in private life. While in the literary and social circles of Edinburgh and London, such men as Dugald Stewart, and Jeffrey, and Mackintosh, and Sydney Smith, and Hallam, were mourning the loss of a friend whom they had admired and loved, the House of Commons, by a course of proceedings unusual in that body, became the scene of a public expression of the common sorrow; and the most eminent men of both parties, Lord Morpeth, Mr. Canning, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Mannors Sutton, Lord Glenelg and others, all joined with a rare unanimity in bearing testimony to the talents, virtues and services of their late associate; lamenting together that they should see his face no more, that they should look no more upon that noble form which had so recently stood among them, nor hear again that voice which had im-

pressed upon them wise counsels and well-matured views, with an eloquence that commanded respect, and won its way to persuasion from the conviction it inspired of truthfulness and thorough sincerity.

It seems singular that the biography of a man thus honored and lamented, should not have been speedily written by some one of his numerous literary friends. Arrangements were indeed made to secure so desirable an end; the ample materials furnished in his private papers and correspondence were successively placed in the hands of one and of another of these friends, who were desirous as well as amply qualified to execute the task; but owing to its delicacy and difficulty, and chiefly on account of the numerous professional engagements of the eminent persons who had undertaken it, this task was in each instance finally declined and relinquished. After the lapse of twenty-six years, Mr. Leonard Horner, deeming himself unsuited to the composition of a regular biography of his brother, decided to pursue another course which seemed more judicious. Following the example suggested by the publication of the *Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly*, he published in 1843, a careful selection from Mr. Horner's papers and correspondence, along with occasional biographical and historical notices. That work has now been reprinted in the volumes before us: still the latter are more than a mere reprint of the English edition; they have been issued with the coöperation of Mr. L. Horner, and with the addition by him of new matter to the extent of about fifty pages in each of the two volumes. We have read the volumes with deep interest. We are sure that the American publishers have done an excellent service in thus recalling the memory of an able and most estimable man, and in bringing more directly to the attention of American readers the records, alike instructive and delightful, of his life and character. The history of Mr. Horner's life is eminently worthy of thoughtful study. It is full of beauty and dignity, on which men may meditate, and grow better; full of incentive to high resolve and effort in well-doing; and fitted to urge, with a silent but impressive eloquence, to the formation of noble character and the pursuit of excellence. It speaks especially to the condition of young men who are aspiring to eminence in letters or science, or to the honors and emoluments of the bar, or are ambitious to tread the slippery paths that lead to political fame. The political character of Mr. Horner, in its bearings upon our own country and times, must do much to conciliate respect for the business of politics and the name of politician, by holding out such a lofty example

of integrity and patriotism. It is obvious enough, that with us the name of politician is far from being synonymous with that of statesman, and by no means carries with it, or necessarily suggests, the virtues of a patriot; and indeed, that in the language of plain men it is at best a title of rather ambiguous honor. We may learn from Mr. Horner's career, that in England at least, a man may gain political fame and power, not merely without trickery and intrigue and winking at meanness and wrong-doing, but precisely by being superior and an entire stranger to all unworthy arts and means of success; that he may rise to influence and even a commanding authority in public life, by the force of exalted moral character. There are still other valuable lessons unfolded in these Memoirs. Mr. Horner was a man who achieved for himself his character and his fame, without the adventitious aids of birth or wealth; he rose early to eminence by no lucky turn of fortune, no sudden inspiration of genius, but by his own assiduous efforts: every conspicuous example of this kind is full of instruction and encouragement in a country of free institutions, where the highest honors and rewards are open to every citizen, with no prerogative or privilege but such as springs from personal merit. He was also a student and a scholar, smitten early with the love of truth and knowledge, and constant in his devotion during all his life; and the intellectual strength he acquired, and the large and varied stores of information he gained, along with that better result—the great end of all study, and of which he never lost sight—the power of being useful, may stimulate the generous youth of every land to a like ardor, and with hope of like success, in the pursuit of that same truth and knowledge, which belong to no times or people, but are the bright, ever fresh heritage of every human soul.

But without farther yielding to the thoughts awakened in reading this work, we hasten to notice the work itself; proposing to dwell for a brief space upon some of the leading facts in these Memoirs, which illustrate Mr. Horner's history and character. He was born in Edinburgh, on the 12th of August, 1778. The character of his parents, Mr. L. Horner has briefly described with a warmth of filial affection, fully justified by their own letters occasionally given in the work, and especially by their judicious efforts to promote aright the education of their promising son. The father, who was a merchant in Edinburgh, was a man who had assiduously cultivated and informed a naturally strong understanding; and the "liberal sentiments" ascribed to him are best attested by what we learn in another place—that he

"was willing to deny himself for the good of his children." We have been struck with the admirable tone of one of his early letters to his son :

"With respect to the expense of your education, it never gives me a moment's thought; the money that is laid out in fitting you for your profession can not be called mis-spent. I wish you not only to be as well educated as others that are to follow the law, but it is my ambition to have you better educated. In your allowance I did not mean that books should be included; in that you have a charge against me. At the same time that I wish you to be comfortable in every respect, I can not too strongly inculcate economy. It is a necessary virtue to all; and however the shallow part of mankind may despise it, it leads certainly to independence, which is a grand object to every man of high spirit."

His mother, a woman of gentle nature and excellent sense, was yet more anxious to give a right direction to the moral and religious character of her son; and in all her daily influence ever "impressed upon his mind," and upon the minds of all her children, as his biographer gratefully records, the "earnest, unobtrusive piety which shone forth in her whole conduct, and in all her sentiments." While she responded to her husband's noble ambition, that his son should be even better educated than his fellows, and perhaps, with the prescience of a mother's love and pride, discerned from afar his coming fame, it is yet clear from a passage in one of her letters, all the more valuable from its confidential strain, that she was cherishing higher and better thoughts and wishes.

"And don't consider it, my dear, as the cant of an old woman, when I admonish you, above all things, not to neglect your religious duties. I would much rather see you a good than a great man, and it is no uncommon thing for learned men to forget what is the most material part of their duty; but *remember*, if you do not remember your Creator in the days of your youth, you need never look for comfort in your old age. I say no more; you know your duty, and I hope will not reject the advice of one who has no other motive than your good."

Who can duly estimate the good influence wrought by that mother's counsels and prayers, and the silent outgoings of that "earnest, unobtrusive piety," upon the character of Francis Horner in the plastic years of his childhood and youth? Certainly it was in that orderly, Christian household, where such a presence was daily seen and felt, that the foundation was laid of the crowning excellence of his character, that purity of principle, which gave him, in his manhood, such an authority over the minds of men.

We find one or two significant reminiscences of Horner's early boyhood. His mother relates, that "at six years of age he distinguished himself at his first school, and was the

pride of his master ;" that " he was never idle, even at that age, and that his anxiety to learn his lessons made him indifferent to his meals." When he was eight years old, he was sent to the High School of Edinburgh, where for some time he was the pupil of William Nicoll, a name quite as famous in the verses of Burns, as in the annals of the school, where he taught so long ; having learned from him the elements of Latin, he passed up to the tuition of the rector, the learned Dr. Adam. He came out at the annual public examination, in 1792, the *Dux* of the rector's class, or "the head boy of the school, when he left it, to go to college." At fourteen, he entered the University of Edinburgh, which was then in its palmiest days, adorned with the names of Dugald Stewart, Playfair, Dalzel, Black and Hugh Blair. Here he remained three years, during which he continued his classical and mathematical studies, and attended the lectures of the professors of logic, moral philosophy, and rhetoric, and also acquired some familiarity with French. His letters written in later life show the lasting gratitude which he felt for the teachers of his youth ; and they illustrate not only the tenderness of his nature, but also the sources from which he derived some of the chief elements of his early culture. He never ceased to retain the warmest affection for his old classical master, Dr. Adam ; on the occasion of whose death, in 1809, he wrote as follows : " I have always felt a most agreeable debt of gratitude to him, for the love he gave me in early life for the pursuits which are still my best source of happiness, as well as for the most valuable impressions on all subjects of political opinion." But probably no one of his teachers left so durable a stamp upon his mind and heart as Dugald Stewart ; whom in all his after life, he scarcely less loved as a man, than honored as an instructor. He always felt that he owed to him his attachment to some of his most cherished pursuits, and also " the happiness of a liberal occupation, superior to the more aspiring aims of a servile ambition." And perhaps never has distinguished pupil received from distinguished teacher a more honorable testimony than the tribute paid to the memory of Horner by Mr. Stewart, in a passage in one of his works. We find the passage quoted, in the Appendix to the Memoirs, from Stewart's Dissertation prefixed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* ; it is too long to extract entire, but we give the closing sentence :

"Never certainly was more completely realized the ideal portrait so nobly imagined by the Roman poet : ' A calm devotion to reason and justice, the sanctuary of the heart undefiled, and a breast glowing with inborn honor :'

"Compositum jus fasque animo, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto."

It was the fortune of Horner to form permanent friendships with some of his fellow-students in Edinburgh, who afterward reached distinction in the paths of life which they entered. "His earliest friend," writes his mother, "was Henry Brougham, for before we left St. David street, in May, 1780, they used to run together on the pavement before our house." Little did any one then imagine—his mother or the passers-by in that Edinburgh street—that the two boys were destined to run together by and by on the arena of public life in London! Some others of his early companions, and fast friends all his life, are names well known in Scotland, Lord Cockburn, Lord Murray, and Professor Pillans.

After leaving the University in 1795, at the age of seventeen, he was placed for two years, under the care of Rev. John Hewlott, at Shacklewell, in Middlesex, chiefly for the further prosecution of the studies of a general education, though the law had been selected as his profession; but it particularly entered into his father's plan, in sending him to England, to give him an opportunity of ridding himself of the peculiarities of a provincial dialect, which his father foresaw would operate to his disadvantage as a public speaker. We Americans have a pronunciation different from the cultivated English, and marked, it must be conceded, by an accent less rich and musical; but a well-educated American would have less to unlearn, to be a public speaker in England, than a Scotchman with his characteristically broad dialect. The young student's letters recording his experience on this head might provoke a smile at his expense, if they did not illustrate the honesty and thoroughness, with which he carried out everything pertaining to his self-improvement. He writes thus to his father:

"With respect to one great object for which you were at the expense and trouble of placing me here, I think I am beginning to *pronounce* some words as Englishmen do, and just to *feel* the difference between the *rhythm* of their conversation and mine. I find, however, that it will be a much more difficult matter than it would have been two or three years ago, and than it would be now, were I blessed with a more acute and delicate ear."

A year later he writes thus:

"I am sensible that I have by no means made myself master of all the variety of the English accents: I am now and then detected in a Scotch inflexion, but hardly ever without previously detecting myself."

But this process of unbending his sturdy "Scotch inflexions," and shaping his organs of speech to English tones, was by no means his only or most important occupation, while with Mr. Hewlett. His letters and journal of this period disclose a far more delicate and various process of mental culture, which was then going on, under a large course of reading and study. "I make it a point," he tells his father, "of reading Greek or Latin every day. The *Annals* of Tacitus and the *Iliad* of Homer are my present studies in that line; whatever assistance is necessary I receive from Mr. Hewlett." What this assistance was, and what was his progress, we learn from a letter from Mr. Hewlett himself. He said of his pupil, that in reading the classics he seldom mistook a passage; and that he therefore advised him to read as much as possible. The amount he read in the course of a day, was far too great to be recited in the time allotted to instruction; indeed the preceptor could not "read with him one tenth part" of his preparations; the plan therefore was—a very judicious one for a good scholar—for the pupil to mark such passages as had any difficulty, and when they met together, the whole time and attention were directed to these. At the same time he diligently prosecuted mathematical studies. Of his zeal and success in these studies, proof exists in the English translation of Euler's *Algebra*, which, it appears, was commenced by him, at the instance of Mr. Hewlett, and in large part executed during the first twelvemonth of his stay in England; the work was afterward finished and edited by Mr. Hewlett himself, and published in London, accompanied by a memoir of Euler, written by Horner. These facts Mr. Hewlett was desirous of stating, on first publishing the work, and afterward on issuing a second edition; but Horner always objected, insisting that whatever merit or emolument attached to it, belonged wholly to the editor; and it was not till some years after Mr. Horner's death, that the history of the translation appeared, in the preface to a new edition. We may mention in passing, that the American text-book of Euler's *Algebra*, published by the late Professor Farrar, consists of selections from this same English translation; that text-book formed some years ago a part of the course of studies in the Boston Latin School, and doubtless in many other schools in this country; and thus many American pupils owe no small part of their school discipline to Horner's labors, executed when he was only nineteen.

It appears from Mr. Hewlett's account, that the study and

translation of Euler was recommended to his pupil as an "admirable exercise of his reasoning powers," and with special reference to his strong bias to "metaphysical speculations." And it is evident from his letters of this period, that Metaphysics had already taken a strong hold of Horner's mind, owing doubtless to his natural aptitude to speculation and analysis, and to the inspiring influence of Dugald Stewart's lectures and society; and there is no doubt, that he cultivated the science in a most intelligent manner, and reaped from it most valuable discipline. In his first letter from Shacklewell to his friend Murray, we find the following spirited challenge:

"I see nothing to prevent us carrying on our *Disputationes Academicæ*, though we are four hundred miles asunder. Metaphysics can war loud enough, and I can get franks every week. Come, I order you in the name of Hume, Smith and Dugald Stewart, to select a question immediately, and to begin upon it in your very first letter. The controversy would be much the better for our friend Brougham's assistance, and I shall give him a hint."

In the next letter, we find the following passage, which shows the significance of the titles he got even at school, of "the sage" and "the ancient Horner."

"The free communication of sentiments between us, my dear Murray, will I am sure, suffer me to give you, from my own experience, an advice with regard to the first prosecutions of this study (Metaphysics) viz., to write on all the subjects which the professor prescribes. The advantages in every respect, which attend this, I believe to be incalculable. With regard to Reid, the arguments against the fidelity of the senses must be refuted, (in the logical treatise which you mention,) I should apprehend, in a manner different from his, as it rests entirely on what is thought his greatest improvement in the science, the accurate distinction which he has established betwixt sensation and perception."

In other passages, too long to be quoted, we find him discoursing acutely upon the mysteries of the *will*, "than which subject he has found none more perplexing in the Philosophy of the Human mind"—stating objections to Mr. Stewart's definition of conception, and projecting speculative papers for the "Edinburgh Academy," with the proposal to his friend, that they should aim to "be the Beaumont and Fletcher of metaphysics." He also gave considerable attention, under Mr. Hewlett's direction, to the formation of an English style, by the reading and criticism of classical authors, such as Hume, Bolingbroke, and Junius, accompanied with exercises in original composition. It was his object to find out "the faults, which writers, particularly those of Scotland, were apt to fall into;" and he was surprised to discover, that "Hume's style, with all its excellences,

abounded with Scotticisms and Gallicisms." Junius—a rather questionable model of style for an ambitious young man—he seems to have discussed with a singular soberness and discrimination, observing his faults, while he admired his pith and point in political invective. And he could not help penetrating beneath the style of that celebrated writer to the criticism of his opinions and character; and his remarks on these points forcibly exhibit the clearness and strength of his moral judgments. "Whoever the author was," he writes to Murray, "he is to be detested, both from the motives and the manner of his publications; for however strongly I lean to the general spirit of freedom which runs through them, I am convinced that those principles are often, as in the present case, assumed only to serve the purposes of faction: the matter of concealment puts him in no better character than that of a nocturnal assassin." We have the concurrent testimony of all his acquaintance, to the conscientious industry with which he pursued all these studies: besides the incidental notices we have already made on this head, we here put together one or two sentences selected from Mr. Hewlett's communications. "His habits were very diligent, and those of a severe student; and he evinced all the patience, perseverance and fortitude necessary for surmounting the greatest difficulties." And the results of such habits he thus describes: "As to his general knowledge, it is more varied and extensive than I ever knew a young man possess of the same age. The avenues of nearly all the sciences are open to him; and he is acquainted with the nature and relative importance of the different kinds of truth."

We have dwelt the longer upon these records of Mr. Horner's academic life, because they so fully unfold his character in that epoch, so decisive in the history of every man, and in which, in his case, was firmly laid the basis of future eminence. Along with the additional proof which they afford of the forming influence of a course of liberal studies, they exhibit, in its bright aspect, the close relation of the habits and conduct of a student at school and college to all his subsequent career. There is great truth in the poet's words, "the child is father of the man;" and so the matured intellectual excellence of manhood is the offspring of the patient toil of youth. Books, lectures, instructors, examples, all belong to the great work of education; but all are of no avail for genuine culture, without the zealous coöperation of the student himself. Here apply the words of another and greater poet:

"Men at some time are masters of their fate:
The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings."

So indeed is it ordained of heaven for all ; and the student is the master of his fate in the time of youth, and then does he determine a noble destiny by nothing so much as by labor, by earnest, continuous, and well-applied labor. These truths Horner not only admitted, but he acted upon them ; not now and then merely, but uniformly and for years : he clearly saw the ends he would reach, and distant though they were, and across a toilsome road, he moved on to their attainment with a steady aim and patient step.

We must pass more rapidly over the remainder of Mr. Horner's Memoirs, though indeed we are now only on the threshold of his life : still we shall endeavor to make good what has been said, by at least indicating the fulfillment of so much promise. In 1797, he returned to Edinburgh, where he remained for about five years, busied with the study and then the practice of the law ; he "stood his trials" in 1800, and was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates. But neither at this time nor ever, was he a mere law-student or a mere lawyer. On the eve of his return to Edinburgh, to enter upon the study of his profession, he drew up a paper, embodying what he conceived to be now set before him : the conception he perhaps caught from Cicero, whose "noble spirit" he admires in "resolving to advance to the forum with the sure possession of surpassing learning and eloquence ;" and certainly the conception is no less grand and no less difficult of execution than the ideal of Cicero in the *De Oratore*. He was to "perfect himself in the Latin and Greek classics, acquire an elegance and facility of English style, both in writing and in speaking, make himself a proficient in the general principles of philosophy, and a complete master, if possible, of law as a science." In regard to the law, his "great object of acquisition, next to the immediate study of the civil, municipal and statute laws themselves, was to be the general science of politics, legislation, and jurisprudence, as systematised by reasonings, and illustrated by history." In studying the classics, he intended to peruse and investigate the best authors ; in Greek, Homer, Demosthenes, Xenophon and Euripides ; in Latin, the best historians, Livy, Tacitus, Cæsar and Sallust, the best poets, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucretius and Tibullus, all which were to be studied over and over again ; while the "works of Cicero were to be continually in his hand, and almost learned by heart." The history of pure mathemat-

ics was to be acquired, together with a comprehension of the logic of analysis, both geometric and algebraic; and in the mixed mathematics and other branches of physics, he was to become acquainted with the laws of the material world, and with the reasonings and experiments by which they have been ascertained or illustrated. Metaphysics, too, and ethics were to be mastered, since these opened the path to legislative science, and also furnished the stores of practical morality, from which the lawyer must draw, in making his appeals to the understanding and heart. In the remainder of this paper, certainly a remarkable one for a young man of twenty, he goes into details of attendance on law lectures, and the study of law books; proposing to have a "law common-place book," in which to enter remarks and queries which might occur to him, and "to get into the habit of throwing out such notes in Latin;" also to keep a journal as a daily register of his progress. He adds an enumeration of the points at which he should aim in composing disquisitions on law and politics, and concludes the whole with a "sketch of what ought to be the professional knowledge of a lawyer."

This was the ground which he thought that he "would have to go over, and these the heights to which he must "climb;" otherwise that he could "not pretend to be fit for his profession;" and he charged himself "to remember that this was a great undertaking, and would require that unre-mitted industry and attention, without which no honor was ever deserved, and no true honor ever acquired." It is easy to animadvert upon this plan of study, as too vast and as improbable of accomplishment, but it shows the range and bent of his mind, and the ambition which inspired him. And this plan, was, in fact, the grand canvas on which he at once began to labor, and continued to labor, filling it up with all the spirit and finish of a true artist. If we trace him through his diary and correspondence, we find him prosecuting all these pursuits by means of books, attendance on lectures, writing, conversation, and debates in "Chemical" and "Speculative" Societies; dividing his days and nights with law, the civil and "Scots law," Metaphysics, History, Political Economy in the lectures of Stewart and the works of Turgot, Adam Smith and others, Physical Science in lectures on "Animal Economy," and at the "Chemical Society," together with his own chemical experiments, which he calls his "regular relaxation,"—and English composition, by translations from Cicero, and the perusal of the best English authors; working all the while on the "formidable problem how to

unite the business of a Scotch lawyer with an ardent pursuit of science and the cultivation of taste." It is clear that the law was not, on the whole, his favorite pursuit; he gave himself resolutely to it as his "chief occupation," but the labor was delightful only so far as he was employed in the accumulation of general principles; the details of practice he found disagreeable; he attended the sessions, listened to the arguments of counsel, and extracted from their faults and their excellences, material for reflection and for elaborate views, which he wrote down, on "the proper style of pleading," and "requisites for a barrister;" but the composition of session papers, though sometimes interesting from some legal investigation, he yet describes as "sickening even to nausea; indeed, he "got constant headaches," from waiting whole mornings for his cases to come on, with no recompense but listening to the discussions of a few important questions, and of a vast mass of others, which were unimportant and uninteresting; and the end of one court term he marks with the significant record, "This day the sessions closed, and delivered me from few fees and many headaches." Political Economy, with all its kindred departments, he pursued with the most hearty interest; his researches here were extensive and fruitful, and his views at once practical and profound, and they were destined by and by to do great credit to himself and good service to his country. In a letter written several years after this time from London to a friend in Edinburgh, he thus speaks of Mr. Stewart's lectures on this science: "I hope the course of political economy is not given up for want of students: the number, to be sure, has always been small, but then it was composed only of such as take to the subject in earnest. If, peradventure, there shall be twenty found there, for twenty's sake it ought to be saved." History, too, he studied largely and wisely, and with solid results, fixing his attention upon great events, and investigating their causes and consequences, and always with reference to political inquiries; and the reflections he records in his journal on the method and subjects of historical reading, are very suggestive and valuable. These graver pursuits he was wont to relieve by excursions into the realm of the ancient classics, or the "pleasing walks" of modern literature. We find in the record of one day, that "after four hours in the forenoon on the subject of *Tack and Wadset*," he has "refreshed himself with a few chapters of Livy;" in the after-dinner hour of several other days, he "indulges himself with models of composition," as, for instance, Goldsmith's *Prose Writings*, and Burke's pamphlets; after a "couple of hours devoted to

the economical details of the corn-trade," he employs himself "in the lighter labor of culling flowers from the style of Gibbon;" and in still another place, after a day "begun with chemistry before breakfast," and then the solid hours "given exclusively to Scots law," he delights himself in the evening with "some of Cicero's Rhetorical Dissertations, which swell one's imagination to the conception of that *aliquid immensum et infinitum*, which he paints with such enthusiasm."

To the attainments which Horner made in such studies as we have now mentioned, we give the testimony of Mr. Sydney Smith, who was at this time and ever after, one of his warmest admirers and friends:

"He had an intense love of knowledge; he wasted very little of the portion of life conceded to him, and was always improving himself, not in the most foolish of all schemes of education, in making long and short verses and scanning Greek choruses, but in the masculine pursuits of the philosophy of legislation, of political economy, of the constitutional history of the country, and of the history and changes of Ancient and Modern Europe. He had read so much and so well, that he was a contemporary of all men, and a citizen of all states."

The mention of Sydney Smith suggests an allusion to other valuable connections with eminent men, which Mr. Horner either formed or renewed during these years spent in Edinburgh. With Sydney Smith, and the Murray and Brougham of former days, his most intimate friends were Francis Jeffrey, John Allen, Lord Henry Petty, Dr. Thomas Brown, and Lord Webb Seymour, a young nobleman of rare intellectual and moral endowments, who, like Horner, died in early manhood. A marked intellectual influence was exerted upon him by Jeffrey and Brougham, both generally in ordinary intercourse, and especially in an Edinburgh association, called the "Speculative Society;" the vigorous weekly encounters with these able minds, in debating important questions in history, politics and letters, not only sharpened and strengthened his intellect, but contributed in an eminent degree to give him readiness and power as a public speaker.

A memorable result of Horner's intercourse with Jeffrey and Sydney Smith, was the establishment of the Edinburgh Review. We lose something of the kind of awe usually inspired in contemplating the early career of that journal, when we go quite back to its beginnings, and see it projected by three young men, all under thirty, and after many delays, started at last not without fears and misgivings. Horner thus records its origin: "This Review was concerted between Jeffrey, Smith and myself. The plan was immedi-

ately communicated to Murray, Allen, and Hamilton; Brown, Brougham and the two Thomsons have gradually been made parties." In a letter from Jeffrey to Horner, we find that even that *Coryphæus* of reviewers had some of the doubts and fears of ordinary mortals, and was by no means superior to the trials of journalism. He writes: "We are in a miserable state of backwardness, and have been giving some of the symptoms of despondency; and hints have been given of a delay that I am afraid would prove fatal. Smith has gone through more than half his task. So has Hamilton. Allen has made some progress; and Murray and myself, I believe, have studied our parts, and tried our instruments, and are *almost ready to begin*. On the other hand, Thomson is sick. Brown has engaged for nothing but Miss Baillie's Plays, and Timothy [T. Thomson] has engaged for nothing, but professed it to be his opinion the other day, that he would never put pen to paper in our cause." Mr. Horner contributed largely to the early numbers; to the first one four papers: his articles were on subjects pertaining to Political Economy or History, all written with ability and with sound judgment; and their gravity and calmness helped to keep the balance against the articles of Jeffrey, whose flagellating style he shared only in one instance. When the Review became firmly established, he became less active, and finally ceased to write nearly altogether; a "deplorable desertion" for Jeffrey, who describes it as "weighing very heavily upon his spirits;" indeed, it is very moving to hear Jeffrey appeal thus pathetically to his *ci-devant* triumvir: "For our sake, for my sake, for your sake, for God's sake, do my dear Horner, set about Malthus immediately, and by the labor of one week save yourself from the penitence and reproaches of many months. I cannot vary my exhortations more; you have worn out my whole stock of obtestations." But it was only the press of other duties that brought about this "desertion;" he always rejoiced in the name and success of the Review, and felt a personal interest in it; with its liberal opinions he always sympathized, though not with the manner in which they were sometimes supported; and Jeffrey's literary criticism he always applauded for its masterly ability, but deprecated its severity and contemptuous tone, especially in the case of Wordsworth. The last time in which he was "bound up with his old associates" was in 1809, when he contributed an article on the French translation of Mr. Fox's History.

In 1802, Mr. Horner visited London, from no mere desire to see more of the world, but with serious thoughts in his mind of fixing his residence there; having a strong bias to

the English bar, which was, doubtless, powerfully backed by the ambition now rising within him of distinction in public life. The scene of the great metropolis naturally awakened in a mind like his numerous reflections, and started many plans and associations which afterward entered permanently into the texture of his life. He was introduced to a new society, where he gained "many interesting acquaintances, and some valuable friends." In one of his first entries in his journal, he describes a dinner occasion at "The King of Clubs," where he met, among others, Mackintosh, Romilly, Whishaw, Abercromby and Scarlett. He seems not to have been at all awed or even very strongly impressed by such a presence; indeed, he records his strictures upon the conversation, with the utmost composure, and from a very lofty point of view. He had expected "a display of argument, wit, and all the flourishes of intellectual gladiatorship. There was too little of present activity; the memory alone was put to work; no efforts of original production, either by the imagination or the reasoning powers." While in London at this time, he took occasion to attend some of the courts, visited a few of the most eminent lawyers, and collected much information by inquiry and observation, in regard to different kinds of practice, and the character and attainments of the bar. He speaks of the English lawyers of that time as being, in general, extremely uninformed, and slaves to illiberal habits which were fatal to intellectual activity and moral independence. Among the exceptions, he enumerates Romilly, then "at the head of the profession," George Wilson, Mackintosh and Scarlett.

This visit was the crisis of his life; before he left town, he had determined for the English bar, and entered his name in the books of Lincoln's Inn; and, after a short interval at Edinburgh, he returned and took up his residence in London. At the age of twenty-five, but with a maturity far beyond his years, Horner was now established in the metropolis, the great scene of English life; where by his great merits he at once passed to a prominent place in the most illustrious ranks of private life, and was gradually advanced to the widest spheres of honorable and useful exertion. The literary society in which he moved was of course more various and extensive than he had enjoyed in Edinburgh. He missed, indeed, Jeffrey, the most gifted member, and Murray, the nearest friend, of his Edinburgh circle; but the loss of their companionship was largely recompensed by the renewal of his intimacy with Sydney Smith, and the formation of ties of intercourse with Mackintosh, Richard Sharp, Romilly, Hallam,

Ward, (afterward Lord Dudley,) and indeed, well nigh all his contemporaries in London, who were most distinguished in law, in literature and in politics. We would gladly linger about the many delightful scenes opened to us by his recorded impressions of his intercourse with these superior persons. By personal as well as political sympathies, he directly became attached to Lord Holland, and at Holland House was always a welcome visitor; there he frequently spent the holidays, and at a later period, when in ill health, he found in that celebrated mansion, through the refined hospitality of its noble inmates, all the ease and comforts of a home. "Lady Holland," he wrote to his father, "takes almost as much care of me when she fancies I need it, as if I were in my own dear mother's hands." But of all the distinguished men whose names we have just mentioned, no one seems to have made so strong an impression upon him as Sir James Mackintosh. "My society," he writes, "has been chiefly at Mackintosh's house, and among the men whom he brings together;" at other places, when Mackintosh is of the party, he is "of course the great entertainer." When Sir James was about to depart for the east, Horner speaks of him in these terms: "He has been an intellectual master to me, and has enlarged my prospects into the wide region of moral speculation, more than any other tutor I have ever had in the art of thinking; I can not even except Dugald Stewart, to whom I once thought I owed more than I could ever receive from another." One is reminded by this language, of the kindred testimony of Robert Hall, who was also a near friend of Mackintosh. In the *Memoir of Hall* by Gregory, it is stated, that "through life Mr. Hall reiterated his persuasion, that Sir James possessed an intellect more analogous to that of Bacon, than any person of modern times; and that if he had devoted his powerful understanding to metaphysics, instead of law and politics, he would have thrown an unusual light upon that intricate but valuable region of inquiry."

But we hasten to the more earnest occupations of his life in London. We have seen that he left Scotland to try his fortunes at the English bar: accordingly, law was now his profession as it had been at Edinburgh; but, as there, it shared his time and attention with his favorite literary and philosophical pursuits, with the addition now of strong and fixed tendencies to politics and political life. The portrait-ure of Horner at this time, we find admirably drawn by his friend, Lord Webb Seymour, in one of those wise, thoughtful, fraternal letters which impress one with such a warm admiration of the noble writer's talents and virtues:—"A man

of a high spirit of independence, resolving to advance himself by his own patient exertions, in a profession of which the practical details were ill suited to his habits, distracted from the prosecution of it by a taste for higher intellectual occupations, and by a nobler ambition for political fame and influence." The language quite agrees with repeated and well-weighed statements of his own; the law he always regarded as a means, never an end; he gave himself to it, as a business, by which he might secure independence, and as a science, the higher studies of which would contribute along with his other acquisitions, to prepare him "for *acting* in public life," which was really his great ultimate object. It was his ambition, as he wrote to the excellent friend from whom we have just quoted, "to carry on his professional views, and to bear a share in the great interesting discussions of public business;" doubtless with "the chances" present to his mind, which he elsewhere describes, "of lasting service to mankind, and of a good name impressed upon the history of the times." With these ruling sentiments, it is natural that while he assiduously read law in his chambers, did some business before the chancellor, and regularly "went the western circuit," he was after all in his element, when with Mackintosh he was in the gallery of the House of Commons, listening to the great debates; or studying political questions "with as much anxiety, as he had ever investigated any point of mere speculation;" or watching the conduct and character of leading statesmen, and the whole course of public events. We have not space to dwell upon the political character of those memorable times; it was a period of great names—Pitt and Fox were still living, though soon to pass off the scene—a period, too, of great crises in English and European affairs, connected with frequent changes of parties, and with the most important measures of internal and of foreign policy. Of all the scenes that transpired and of their principal actors, Horner was a thoughtful observer and student; he made all contribute to his education; and "he omitted nothing"—to modify somewhat Livy's words of the young Hannibal—"which ought to be seen and done by one destined to be a great" statesman. And the time was much nearer at hand, than in his dreams of ambition he had ever imagined, when he was himself to enter upon that stage of action toward which his eyes had been thus eagerly turned. It was natural that a young lawyer of great abilities and attainments, held in such high estimation by so many eminent men, known, too, as one of the leading writers of the Edinburgh Review, and as an advocate of liberal opinions,

should soon fix the attention of the Whig party. The first advances were made to him by Lord Fitzwilliam, in an invitation to a political party dinner; he accepted the invitation, and also gave his name for a new club, to which Fox, Windham, Sheridan and others belonged. The party itself he described in his journal, as being "like all large ones, unsatisfactory, though he had an opportunity of seeing and hearing Sheridan, and of being enchanted with the manner of Windham:" he adds, in a tone quite characteristic, that "the intention of bringing the people together was, that some association might be formed for writing pamphlets, squibs, epigrams, &c., against the administration"—a project for which he felt within him no calling. The only important result to himself of this occasion was, that by its means he formed a connection with the party there represented, and "allowed himself to be recognized more expressly as an adherent of the opposition, than he had ever had an opportunity of doing before." It is an agreeable thought, that he at length owed the attainment of "one of the earliest objects of his ambition," an introduction to the House of Commons, to two of his old Edinburgh friends; by the wholly unexpected proposal of Lord Kinnaird, first communicated to him by Lord Henry Petty, he obtained, in 1806, the seat for the borough of St. Ives, which was at Lord Kinnaird's disposition. The exchange of letters between the two principal parties, who had formerly figured together as Charles Kinnaird and Francis Horner, in the "Speculative Society" in Edinburgh, is a most delightful memorial of early friendship. From this time, Mr. Horner was in the House of Commons until his death; he was a member of three successive parliaments, having been returned to the second for the borough of Wendover, on the nomination of Lord Carrington, and to the third, for St. Mawes, which he represented under the patronage of the Buckingham family.

It is foreign to our purpose to enter into the details of his parliamentary career; it will be enough to allude to the general cast of his political opinions, and to some of the occasions by which his ability was displayed, and his character still further unfolded. His politics are thus described by his friend Sydney Smith:

"He was an English whig, and no more than an English whig. He mourned sincerely over the crimes and madness of France, and never for a single moment surrendered his understanding to the novelty and nonsense which infested the world at that strange era of human affairs."

The guarded tone of this passage is justified in the main by Mr. Horner's own language in his journal, concerning

what he deemed to be "the great error of Mr. Fox, in the late years of his opposition,"—"his favorable expectation of the issue of the French Revolution." And yet the view thus given by his friend and by himself, of his opinion of the French Revolution, though at first it may seem opposed, is really more fully completed, by a passage in one of his latest speeches in parliament. "The French Revolution exhibited many scenes of cruelty, atrocity and horror, and its principles have been often dishonored by the profligacy of those who held them, or professed to carry them into execution; but it arose at first from a love of liberty, and has been attended by most important consequences. The great body of the people, whose interests were the most important, were raised by it in education, in character, in property, and in independence." We may here add the remark, that though he agreed with the "general maxims and principles of Mr. Fox's party," yet he freely animadverted on several points of the policy of that distinguished statesman, with the same independence of judgment which marked his whole career.

Mr. Horner's course in the House of Commons was not rapid nor at first brilliant, but deliberate, sure and steadily onward. He had no desire to push himself into notice, and no ambition to attempt "a set speech, though fame for a day was to be had in that way;" he was wise enough, and content, to bide his time; and the time ere long came. The subject which brought him to a prominent position in the House and in the country, was the currency,—a subject which he had thoroughly studied, and for the discussion of which he was eminently fitted by his researches in the various provinces of Political Economy. The particular occasion was the rise, in 1810, of what was called the "Bullion Question," which grew out of the depreciation of the currency, and all the train of evils which were entailed upon England by Mr. Pitt's wars, and their financial policy. From the beginning to the end, Mr. Horner took a leading part in this question; he was chairman of the "Bullion Committee," and the author, in fact, of their report; and he afterward advocated the doctrines of that report, in two speeches, described by Lord Brougham as "finished models of eloquence applied to such subjects," which won for him a great and permanent fame. The measures he then proposed were of course steadily voted down by the ruling party; but the discussion made a great impression, and contributed to the gradual establishment of a sounder policy, which led to a restored currency. He was also very active in all discussions of the so much vexed and since settled Corn Question, fighting the battles of the

"political economists" against fearful odds, with the utmost coolness and intrepidity; and in these and most other matters of commercial policy, the sequel has shown that he was considerably in advance of his times. Nor was his activity confined to questions of this class. During the same week that he delivered his great speech on the Corn Laws, there came up a discussion on the transfer of Genoa to Sardinia, an act of policy to which England was a party, by a breach of national faith and honor, and to the disappointment of the Genoese hopes of liberty. On such a subject, Horner would be sure to see clearly, and speak strongly and to the point; and he delivered on the occasion, a most characteristic speech. He would listen to no views of expediency; they could not "enter at all into his estimate of the character and justification of a direct breach of a moral obligation;" he fastened the House to the single and only relevant question,—“Has the faith of the country been violated—aye or no?” Sir James Mackintosh speaks, in his journal, of the “astonishing success of his speech.” “It reanimated,” he says, “our spirits, and at the same time commanded the most profound attention of our opponents, often extorting involuntary proofs of their approbation.” There was a kindred government proceeding, and for which England was solely responsible, the mention of which in one of Mr. Horner’s letters also exhibits the predominance of his moral convictions—this was the taking of the Danish navy. In a letter to Murray, he writes: “I have made up my mind upon this Copenhagen business: you will think it strange, perhaps, that I had it to make up. But I expressly put myself into doubts upon the subject, and endeavored for a while to view it as one of the extreme cases of that necessity which has no law. I am returned from every deviation that I attempted into the intricacies of state expediency, to the day-light of common justice and old rules. Sir William Scott, however, told Sydney Smith that no *principle* is more *plainly* laid down than our right to take the navy of the Danes; and so he has been ready to say, and would be still ready, for any outrage or breach of the law of nations that the government of the country has dared, or is meditating to commit.” There is a fine commentary on this language, given by Sydney Smith, and in his peculiar vein; it illustrates too, another strong point in Horner’s character. “He loved truth so much, that he never could bear any jesting on important subjects. I remember one evening the late Lord Dudley and myself pretended to justify the conduct of the government in stealing the Danish fleet; we carried on the argument with some wickedness, against our graver

friend; he could not stand it, but bolted indignantly out of the room; we flung up the sash, and, with loud peals of laughter, professed ourselves decided Scandinavians; we offered him not only the ships, but all the shot, powder, cordage, and even the biscuit, if he would come back; but nothing could turn him, he went home; and it took us a fortnight of serious behaviour before we were forgiven."

Probably, the public effort of Mr. Horner, which best displayed both his intellectual and moral character, was his speech in 1816, on the Treaties of Peace, after what was called in the ministerial phrase of that day, "The final settlement of Europe." During the last campaign of the long and terrible war of England against Bonaparte, when it was now a war not against Bonaparte but against the French nation, he had not gone with the prevailing sentiment of England, or even of his own party. This renewal of the war after Napoleon's return from Elba, and his enthusiastic reception by the French people, he viewed simply as "a war for the restoration of the Bourbons, coupled with a still more indefensible principle of proscribing an individual." Contrary to the previous explicit and public disavowal of ministers, it was now disclosed that such really was the object of the war. The treaties of peace he therefore objected to, because their design was to maintain, by foreign bayonets, a Bourbon monarch upon the throne of France, without any regard to the laws, the liberties or the wishes of the people. Such a design he maintained to be contrary to the faith of the crown, and to the solemn pledges given to parliament and the French nation, and at variance with sound English doctrine, as sanctioned by all the precedents, whether whig or tory. These views he set forth with the utmost clearness and force, along with an entire mastery of all the varied relations of the subject, and at the same time with a genuine spirit of freedom and justice; and the speech was acknowledged by all to be one of the ablest ever delivered in parliament.

This speech was, in Lord Brougham's language, Mr. Horner's "last brilliant display." Soon after, he was visited with serious symptoms of declining health; these continued and increased, and required his withdrawal from public duties, and finally a retirement from England to a southern climate. In the fall of 1816, accompanied by his brother, Mr. Leonard Horner, he set out for Italy, and fixed his residence at Pisa for the winter. But he did not survive the season; he died on the eighth of February, 1817.

We can not refrain from giving the close of Mr. Sidney Smith's letter, from which we have already several times

quoted: "Youth destroyed before its time, great talents and wisdom hurried to the grave, a kind and good man, who might have lived for the glory of England, torn from us in the flower of his life! But all this is gone and past, and, as Galileo said of his lost sight, It has pleased God it should be so, and it must please me also." And yet, in one sense, Horner had lived long. He had lived to achieve a great and a good name. And well may we apply to him the words used by Tacitus of Agricola: "*Et ipse quidem, quanquam medio in spatio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum ævum peregit.*"

In uttering thus our sincere admiration of Mr. Horner's moral excellence, we can not withhold the expression of the regret we have felt in meeting nowhere in these volumes, with the slightest mention of his religious convictions and character. We looked eagerly to find, at least in the closing records of his illness and death, something in letter or biographical notice that would clearly point to a deep religious faith, as the inward source and spring, not only of his consolation and support in so sudden an interruption of a bright career, but also of all his active virtues and usefulness. We may, perhaps, in part, account for this silence here by the fact, that Mr. Horner had no apprehension that he was laboring under a fatal disease; he looked forward with cheerful confidence to ultimate recovery, though he thought it might be slow; and, indeed, while reposing at Pisa under the shadow of those inspiring monuments of architectural art, he projected an extraordinary series of the loftiest intellectual designs for the occupation of this expected interval of retirement. Still, it must strike one with surprise that in these records of a mind so thoughtful as his, we meet with no such religious thoughts, as would naturally be awakened by so sudden a withdrawal from the active scenes of life; and, for ourselves, we could part with the perusal of some of those vast "Designs" for study and mental discipline—sketched only six days before his decease—for the meditations of that grave, clear intellect on the great themes of a future life; which should reveal to us its spiritual aspirations for things far beyond and far above this world, and be animated with the hopes and the full assurance of Christian faith.

In commencing this article, we alluded to the proceedings in parliament on the motion for a writ for a new member in the room of Mr. Horner; and in closing, we can not but recur for a moment to that occasion. The course then pursued was felt to be unusual and somewhat irregular, though not without precedent; but it met the sympathy and cordial

assent of the whole House. It was a scene, combining elements of the strongest dignity and interest, most honorable to the House of Commons and to the national character, honorable indeed to our common humanity. From both sides the House, all eyes and all hearts were turned in sadness to that vacant seat. In all the words of praise then uttered, and now on bright record, there is no appearance of formality or exaggeration, nothing of the eloquent propriety, the studied brilliancy of an *éloge*; all was the strong, unaffected expression of pure respect and affection, mingled with real regret. And the great distinction of this unanimous tribute to Mr. Horner's memory was paid, not at all to rank or official station,—these he never had—not even to his great talents, learning, eloquence, which alone could never have won it; but it was paid to his eminent moral worth, to the singular purity and integrity of his character, and his serene devotion to duty. This is the true import and the best lesson of the whole scene. It was a heart-felt recognition, in a great legislative body, of the nobility and power of virtue.

—“He had kept
The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept.”

ART. IV.—AN EXPOSITION OF ROMANS 9: 3.

“For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh.”

THIS article is an humble endeavor to exhibit a comprehensive view of what has been written on this important passage, and what is probably its true interpretation. The late Dr. Chalmers justly calls it one of the enigmas of Scripture, which have often exercised and sometimes baffled all the ingenuities and learning of criticism.

In our inquiry we will be guided by the opinions of others, and by the sound principles of sacred interpretation.

We have not access to all that has been written on this expression of Paul, nor do we regret the loss, as no doubt much of it is of no special importance; if we may judge from that which has come under our observation.

One of the chief difficulties that meet us in expounding this passage, is to ascertain the extent of the evil which Paul

expresses his willingness to undergo. Chrysostom understands it to include final separation, not indeed from the love, but from the *presence* of Christ. Others limit it to a violent death, and others again explain it as meaning the same kind of curse as that under which the Jews then were, from which they might be delivered by repentance, and the reception of the gospel. See Deylingii *Observat. Sacrae*, p. 495.

It would occupy too much of a periodical to refer to all the interpretations which have been given to this passage. But we will present a few taken from our most celebrated writers.

Grotius thinks the phrase "accursed from Christ," signifies excommunication from the *Christian* Church, whilst most of the fathers, together with Tholuck and Rückert of Germany, explain the term as referring to the *Jewish* practice of excommunication. Dr. Waterland translates it, "Made an anathema after the example of Christ. To sustain this rendering he refers us to the manner in which *ἀπό* is used in 2 Tim. 1: 3, *ἀπό προγόνων*, after the example of my forefathers!

Dr. Clarke, in his Seventeenth Sermon, supposes the Apostle means, that he could be content that Christ should give him up to such calamities as those to which the Jewish people were doomed for rejecting him, so that if they could all be centered in one person, he could be willing they should unite in him, could there be a way of saving his countrymen.

Dr. Doddridge interprets the verse after this manner, "For methinks, if I may be allowed to express myself so, I could even wish, that as Christ subjected himself to the curse, that he might deliver us from it, so I myself likewise were made an anathema after the example of Christ, like him exposed to all the execrations of an enraged people, and even to the infamous and accursed death of crucifixion itself for the sake of my brethren, and kinsmen according to the flesh."

Prof. Stuart of Andover, in his commentary on the Romans, says:—If Paul's being cast off by the Saviour could occasion the reception and salvation of the whole Jewish people, this apostle expresses his readiness to submit to it. But as such a thing was impossible, and as he really knew it to be so, all that we can well suppose the passage teaches is, that he possessed such a feeling of benevolence toward the Jewish nation that he was ready to do or suffer anything whatever, provided their salvation might be secured by it. In other words, this is a high and glowing expression, springing from an excited state of feeling, which the use of common language could not at all satisfy. And in making

use of such an expression, Paul did not depart from a mode of speaking which is still very common in the East.

Dr. Taylor paraphrases it thus:—I could even wish that the exclusion from the visible Church which will happen to the Jewish nation, might fall to my own share, if thereby they might be kept in. And to this I am inclined by natural affection, for the Jews are my dear brethren and kindred.

Mr. Wakefield says, I see no method of solving the difficulty in this verse, which has so exercised the learning and ingenuity of commentators, but by the *εὐχομαι εἶναι* of Homer, *I profess myself to be*, and he translates the passage in a parenthesis thus—(*for I also was once an alien from Christ*) *on account of my brethren.*

Dr. A. Clarke is of opinion that Paul is willing that in the place of the Jews, Christ should devote him, or as some MSS. read *υπο* for *ἀπό*, "For I could wish myself to be devoted by Christ, to that temporal destruction to which he has adjudged the disobedient Jews, if by doing so I might redeem them. This and this alone seems to be the meaning of the apostle's wish."

Dr. Whitby has this note on the passage: To be anathema from Christ, imports, in its literal sense, a separation from Christ himself, and not only from the external communion of his church, but in the *descants* of the Greek (Origen, Chrysost., Theod., Theopylact) to be separated from the love of Christ, to be alienated from him, to fall from his glory, and the salvation purchased by him. I think it reasonable to interpret the apostle's language in this sense.

Dr. Macknight on the Epistles uses this language. The word is elegantly used on this occasion for a violent death, because, as Locke observes, the Jewish nation was now *ἀναθεμα*, a thing *cast away* by God, and *separated* to be destroyed. The apostle was willing to suffer death, if thereby he could have prevented the terrible destruction which was coming upon the Jews. Wherefore *separated from Christ* means cut off by death from the visible church, called Christ, see Romans 16: 7.

The apostle's wish, thus understood, was not contrary to piety. Because, if he had been cut off from the church of Christ, either by the hand of God or man, that evil might have been cheerfully borne by him on account of the great good that was to follow from it. In this wish the apostle seems to imitate Moses, who desired to be blotted out of God's book, rather than that the Israelites should be destroyed. Exod. 32: 32.

Deyling, Olshausen, De Wette, adopt the more general meaning of *accursed*.

Calvin supposes that Paul, in a state of ecstasy, actually wished himself condemned in the place of his countrymen. He says the apostle is not speaking of temporal but eternal death, and when he says *from Christ*, an allusion is made to the Greek word *anathema*, which means a *separation from anything*. Does not separation from Christ mean being excluded from all hopes of salvation?

Calvin's language in the original is very strong. "Nullam majorem caritatis vehementiam exprimere potent, quam hac testificatione: haec enim perfecta demum est dilectio, quae nec mortem pro amici salute refugiat. Atqui particula addita non de temporaneo duntaxat exitio ipsum loqui indicat, sed aeterna morte. Allusitque ad nomen anathematis, quum dixit A Christo; nam a segregando dictum est, quid est autem a Christo segregari, nisi excludi ab omni salutis expectatione? Ardentissimae ergo dilectionis fuit documentum, quod non dubitaret. *Paulus sibi damnationem imprecari*, quam videbat, Judaeis impendere, quo eos liberaret."

Bengel says—Sensus est, optabam Judaeorum miseriam in meum caput confesse, et illorum loco esse. Judaei fidem repudiantes, erant anathema a Christo.

Winer translates the passage, *Vellem ego, (si fieri posset,) ich wünschte (wennes nur nicht unmöglich wäre.)*

Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, says the common interpretation suits the force and meaning of the words, and is agreeable to the context. The only objection to it is of a theological kind.

It is said to be inconsistent with the Apostle's character to wish that he should be accursed from Christ. But to this it may be answered, Paul does not say, that he did deliberately and actually entertain such a wish. The expression is evidently hypothetical and conditional. I could wish, were the thing allowable, possible, or proper. So far from saying he actually desired to be separated from Christ, he impliedly says the very reverse. I could wish it, were it not wrong or did it not involve my being unholy as well as miserable, but as such is the case, the desire can not be entertained. Again, even if the words expressed more than they actually do, and the apostle were to be understood as saying that he could wish to be cut off from Christ, yet from the nature of the passage, it could fairly be understood as meaning nothing more than that he was willing to suffer the utmost misery for the sake of his brethren. The general idea is, that he considered himself as nothing, and his happiness as a matter of no moment, in view of the salvation of his brethren.

Dr. Chalmers says the common interpretation that is given, though by no means the unanimous one, is that the word *anathema* in the original was the technical expression applied to that sentence of excommunication by which the members of the Hebrew church were put forth of its communion, and so made outcasts from all the privileges on which the countrymen of the apostle set so high a value. Paul's imprecation upon himself was felt to extend no further than to the loss of those present distinctions which belonged to him while in communion with the Christian Church, and as a recognized member of the Christian society.

We beg to differ from the learned doctor, for there seems little reason to suppose that a judicial act of the Christian church is intended.

The word *anathema*, we believe, means a great deal more, as can be easily shown.

Haldane, in his commentary on the Romans, says, to understand the meaning of this passage there are *three* observations to which it is of importance to attend. In the *first* place, it is the *past*, and not the present tense, which is employed in the original. What is rendered "I could wish," should be read in the past tense, "I did wish," referring to the apostle's state before his conversion. The *second* observation is, that the verb which is translated "wish," would have been more correctly rendered in this place *boast*, "for I myself boasted to be separated from Christ." For this translation, which makes the apostle's meaning far more explicit, there is the most unquestionable authority. See for example the sixth book of the Iliad; line 211, where the same word occurs, and could not be rendered otherwise, *ταυτης τοι γενης τε και αἱματος εὐχομαι εἶναι*. From this race, and this blood, I *boast* to be descended. Many other examples of the same kind are found in the Odyssey.

The *third* observation is, that the first part of the third verse should be read in a parenthesis as follows—I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart (for I myself made it my boast to be separated from Christ) for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh. Toplady holds to the same reading. See his works, London, 1844, p. 436—and also, Walford's *Curæ Romanæ*, pages 166 and 190.

Paul had himself, *formerly*, made it his boast to be separated from Christ, rejecting him as the long promised Messiah, the hope of the Jews, and the Saviour of the world.

A writer in the March No. of the "Southern P. Review" for 1849, is of the opinion that Paul only expressed his willingness to be banished from the church, and to die a *temporal*

death, to become a *piaculum*, an expiation for the Jews, if that would save them.

We confess that we are not satisfied with this view of the passage, because if the apostle had suffered death for the sake of his brethren, it did not follow that he would have been separated from Christ. For in his epistle to the Corinthian church, he is "willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord. "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." Why? Because he longed to depart and to be with Christ. Neither death, nor life, &c., shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

The Greek word *anathema*, properly signifies anything devoted to God, so as to be destroyed. It answers to the Hebrew *herem*, by which the Septuagint translate it, and it means either a thing or a person devoted to destruction without the power of redemption, and if *animated* to be put to death. In this sense it is used, Deut. 7: 25, 26; Josh. 6: 17, 18; 7: 12. "This vow was taken by Jews, and not by Christians, or persons under Christian influence, and is therefore, to be interpreted according to Jewish notions on the subject of vows and oaths."

The Jews of later days use the word in a modified sense. The *herem* of the Rabbins signifies excommunication or seclusion from the Jewish church. But it is a question, whether the Jews in the days of Paul used it in this sense. We think not.

The Jews of the present time reckon three kinds of excommunication, all of which are designated by the term *herem*. (Elias Levita, in Sepher Tisbi.) The first of these is merely a temporary separation from church privileges. For the person excommunicated, if he dies whilst in this condition, there is no mourning, but a stone is thrown on his coffin to indicate that he is separated from his people, and had deserved stoning.

Buxtorf in his Lex. Chal. Talm. et Rabbin, gives twenty-four causes of this kind of discipline; it lasted thirty days and was pronounced without a curse.

To call Jesus *anathema* refers not to a *judicial* sentence pronounced by the Jewish courts, but to the act of any private individual. The word as it is used in reference to any who should preach another gospel, "Let him be *anathema*," has the same meaning. In none of these instances have we any reason to believe that the word was employed to designate technically excommunication, either from the Jewish or Christian church, neither does it mean the loss of happiness

in another world. We now find that the *anathema* of the Scripture, always implies execration.

The language of the apostle as it appears in our English Bible, is inconsistent with Christian character, for the law of God only requires us to love our neighbors as ourselves, not more. We ought to lay down our lives for the brethren, but God nowhere in his holy word, demands that we should devote our *souls* to destruction for them. I doubt not that zeal for the honor and glory of God burned in the breast of Paul, when he uttered the words under review. His affection for the Jews is here expressed in the strongest possible terms, but we can not for a moment suppose that any one should desire to be eternally separated from the glory of God, and the happiness of heaven, and consequently punished with everlasting destruction, and become the companion of the devil and his angels. Such a thing we believe impossible. This would do more than fulfill the law of love, and the requirements of God, and would therefore be most sinful, for all our affections ought to be regulated by, and subservient to, the law of heaven.

The most satisfactory exposition of the passage which we have met with, is given by the late learned and pious Dr. Green, of Philadelphia. It is one which commends itself to every intelligent and Christian heart, for its simplicity and correctness. We believe that it fully expresses the apostle's meaning. For the benefit of the reader, we will give it in the doctor's own language. "The first part of the verse, in which the whole difficulty lies, our translators render, 'For I could wish myself accursed from Christ.' Is this a just translation? Let those decide who have any tolerable acquaintance with the Greek language. *Ηυχομην* is not in the subjunctive or potential mood, I *could* wish, but in the imperfect tense of the *indicative*, I *wished* or *did wish*. If the word *ηυχομην* had been accompanied with the potential conjunction *αν* it might have the force or meaning of the potential mood. Of such a rendering of verbs in the indicative, when accompanied with this conjunctive, our translation of the New Testament exhibits a number of unexceptionable examples. But in the text under consideration, this conjunction is not found, and therefore can have no effect in giving the imperfect tense an optative meaning. Unless the manifest sense of the passage had indispensably demanded it, *ηυχομην* ought not to have been translated I *could* wish, but agreeably to its proper import, I *wished* or *did wish*, referring not to the *present* but to a *former* state of the apostle's mind.

This correct translation of *ηυχουην* is given by Ozias Montanus—"Obtabam enim ipse ego"—and the Vulgate has the same reading.

It happens that this verb, in the very mood and tense, is read in one other place in the New Testament, Acts 27: 29, *ηυχοντο ημεραν γενεσθαι*—they wished for the day. But why should *ηυχοντο* be rendered *they wished* in this text, and *ηυχουην* *I could wish*. It is believed that no satisfactory reason can be assigned for this variation. It would surely have been a very flat expression, to have said of a ship's crew in a dark and tempestuous night, and every moment in danger of destruction, that *they could have wished for the day*. In another respect, the common translation seems not to correspond with the *grammatical* structure of the original. In the passage in Acts, the Greek verb signifying *to wish*, governs the noun which is the subject of the wish in the accusative case, *ηυχοντο ημεραν γενεσθαι*—they wished for *the day*. But in the passage under exposition, the words *εγω αυτος*, which is rendered *myself*, and is made the subject of the wish, are not in the accusative case, but in the *nominative*. Let the words *εγω αυτος* be considered as the nominative to *ηυχουην* and let this verb have its proper government of *αναθεμα* in the accusative followed by the infinitive mood *ειναι*, and this followed by *απο του χριστου*: we shall then have a translation corresponding exactly with that of Acts, and the only one which can be considered as correct. It will stand thus, "For I myself did wish an anathema (or a curse) from Christ." This is almost the translation given by Haldane. For I myself *boasted* to be separated from Christ.

The doctor says: It may now be asked, what is the meaning of the whole verse?

It is evident that the apostle is not speaking of the state of his mind, *when* he wrote the epistle, but of what it *had been* long before, in his *unconverted* state. While he was exceedingly mad against the Redeemer and his disciples, he had wished for an anathema or a curse from Christ, for his brethren, his kindred, according to the flesh. To what specific act he has reference, he does not inform us—he tells us however, that he had been a *blasphemer* as well as a persecutor.

We know that he was at the martyrdom of Stephen and kept the raiment of those who slew him, and no doubt was one of those who invoked upon themselves the awful curse, His blood be upon us and upon our children. In view, then, of his former conduct, well might he have great heaviness and constant sorrow in his heart, because on his brethren, his

kindred, he had invoked the awful anathema which he now saw abiding on them.

This sorrow was greatly aggravated when he recollected that the people now reduced to this awful situation, were once the peculiar people of Jehovah. Israelites to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises, and of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever, Amen.

Paul now is far from glorying over them in their hour of affliction and rejection by heaven. His soul is filled with the most lively sorrow and tender sympathy; he forgets his own wrongs and their cruel persecutions in the inexpressible affliction with which he contemplates their obstinate unbelief and contempt of the Saviour, with all the fatal consequences in time and in eternity.

The view which we have presented as held by Dr. Green and Mr. Haldane, (Ewing in his *Greek and English Lexicon*, Glasgow ed. 1827, holds to the same opinion,) Dr. Chalmers says, "has the advantage of being *historically* true. Paul at one time for the sake of his countrymen, did embark in a most resolute opposition to Christ and to his faith, and would gladly have consented to be in a state of everlasting disunion from him."

From the above brief investigation of this much disputed passage, we are led to adopt the exposition of the last mentioned writers. We believe they have given the most *rational* and *Scriptural* explanation, and one that best accords with sound Biblical exegesis, and is "historically true."

The reasonings of other writers, are in our opinion, *too far fetched*, and therefore, are not entitled to that consideration and respect which we would like to give them on account of the great learning and piety of their respective authors.

ART. V.—BISHOP BUTLER.

Memoir of the Life, Character, and Writings of Joseph Butler, &c. By THOMAS BARTLETT, A. M. London: J. W. Parker. 1839.

The Analogy of Bishop Butler, with a Life of the Author, &c. By WILLIAM FITZGERALD, A. M. Dublin: James McGlashan. 1849.

Prelections on Butler's Analogy. By the late THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., LL. D. Works, vol. ix. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

A Systematic Analysis of Butler's Analogy. Part II. By the Rev. HENRY H. DUKE, B. A. London: Joseph Masters. 1847.

THE last twenty-five years have witnessed a most striking and gratifying change in the popular appreciation of Butler as a moralist and Christian philosopher. His *Analogy*, indeed, was never entirely destitute of marks of public favor, having passed through three editions during his life time, and a regular succession of editions afterward. But as a moralist, he has, till of late, had but few followers. He formed no distinct school, but for generations stood almost alone—a giant in the midst of surrounding pigmies. Even Mackintosh could say of him, in his day, "There are few circumstances more remarkable than the small number of Butler's followers in ethics; and it is, perhaps, still more observable, that his opinions were not so much rejected as overlooked." This neglect he attributed to the difficulties of his style; but not, as it seems to us, with entire justice. Butler's style, it is true, does not possess all the graces of the most accomplished masters of the English language, but it is generally good, plain English, notwithstanding. His words are proper and his constructions correct and idiomatic. Indeed, he is occasionally elegant, presenting passages here and there, not unworthy of the best writers.

Dr. Whewell,* with more justice, as we conceive, has ascribed the intricacies and difficulties of Butler, beyond what are necessarily involved in his matter, to his method of philosophizing—to his strict adherence to the simple generalization of facts, without committing himself to any particular theory for their explanation. He does not adopt a theory, and thus render its vocabulary of short, technical terms available to him in speaking of the various phenomena which are referred to it; but keeping aloof from all theories, and hence rejecting all technical terms, he is obliged at every turn to repeat a kind of definition or description of the thing intended. Such a method, while it gives rise to circumlocutions and repetitions in the presentation of his subjects, is the genuine method of the discoverer—it is precisely that of Bacon, and justly entitles him to the appellation which he has received, of "the Bacon of Theology." His extreme cautiousness on this point, as well as an equal cautiousness, by proper lim-

* Hist. Mor. Philos. in England, sect. viii.

itations and sufficiently wide generalizations, to secure his principles from all objections and make them truly adequate to his subject, has given rise, as we conceive, to all, or nearly all in Butler's writings, which can be complained of as unnecessarily perplexed or obscure. He is said to have remarked to a friend, that his plan in writing the *Analogy* had been, "To endeavor to answer, as he went along, every possible objection that might occur to any one against any position of his, in his book." And this seems to be the spirit in which he always wrote. The very difficulties and obscurities of his style, then, are but the evidence and effect of the excellence of his method, and the breadth and completeness of his treatment.

Defensible, however, as are the obscurities of Butler's style, they have undoubtedly had no inconsiderable influence in retarding his progress to general appreciation and favor. But this tardy justice, we are persuaded, has been more owing to extraneous circumstances, than to anything in the style of Butler. The central point of Butler's moral system is conscience, or a moral faculty, which, under the form of a moral sense, had been brought into disrepute, more especially by Shaftesbury. Conscience, to be sure, as treated by Butler, is distinct enough from the moral sense of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, but as being a distinct faculty, was liable to be confounded with it, and to be regarded with the same suspicion. This prejudice would naturally tend to divert attention from his system, and keep the dominant systems of Clarke and Wollaston in the ascendant, till the utilitarian system, which from the time of Hobbes, had enjoyed no inconsiderable share of the public favor, was moulded into a more plausible and decorous form by Paley. This once accomplished, Butler was more and more lost sight of. From the undoubted merit of his other writings, and the easy perspicuity with which he delivered his moral precepts, as well as from their dextrous adaptation to ordinary wants, Paley became at once the text-book at the Universities, and the standard for moral reference in every-day life. Paley's ascendancy was thus complete, and remained almost unchallenged for a long series of years. At length, however, his defects began to be very generally felt, and in looking around for a better master, all the soundest minds turned at once to Butler; so that now, the reaction in his favor has become almost universal, both in this country and in England. The books at the head of this article are a portion of the fruit of this newly revived zeal for Butler, and are placed there as evidence of this, rather than for distinct review. We shall

simply make them a hook to hang a few general observations on, touching Butler and his works.

And, in the first place, it is remarkable how little these fresh investigations have added to the extremely scanty memorials of his life. They have corrected a few dates, added a few not very important facts, and discovered a few letters not before published, but have scarcely thrown a single additional ray of light upon his private habits and internal history. All inquiry upon this point, respecting which light is so much desiderated, seems to have been provokingly fruitless. We can hardly be reconciled to knowing so little of the intellectual habits of one whose mental experience must have been so rich and varied. We really begin to feel that modern biography, filled as it too often is with details *ad nauseam*, is not so great an evil after all; for had it existed in the days of Butler, it might, as it does now, have chronicled the stupidities of many a dunce, but would, in all probability, have more than atoned for this, by giving us some adequate memorials of a life and character so intensely interesting and instructing. The magnificent intellectual products which he has left, indicating a mind of the greatest depth and candor, and the few glimpses which we get of his pure and amiable life, whet the curiosity to the keenest edge for more and more varied information in regard to him. But oblivion has forever barred the access to such information. Living a bachelor all his days, and naturally of a timid, retiring, and even melancholy disposition, he held his chief converse with those profound and pregnant thoughts which give so solemn and memorable an air to his pages, and notwithstanding his high station, apparently came but little into contact with men. Such being the case, we must rest satisfied with the scanty memorials of his life which have been left us, grateful that we possess his works so complete, from which we may not only gain the choicest wisdom, but fill out with the most undoubting confidence, the ideal of a character of the rarest excellence and beauty.*

The works of Butler have now been before the world considerably over a century, and it is remarkable how few of his principles have been invalidated by the experience and criticism of so long a period. The general result, indeed, as already observed, has been a growing conviction of the correctness of his principles, and appreciation of their import-

* There are three portraits of Butler known as originals, of which that taken at forty, by the celebrated Vanderbank, and published in Bartlett's Memoirs, is the most approved, and presents a striking combination of grace, benignity and intellect. *Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.*

ance. Assuming, as he does, the defense of virtue and piety, and throwing himself into the breach to arrest the progress of vice and infidelity, he stands exposed to the malignant attacks of all the enemies of righteousness;—he presents a barrier to such, which they must demolish before they can advance any further. No wonder, then, that he has been closely scanned and violently assailed. Many an assailant has walked around the walls and scrutinized them narrowly, for some indefensible point at which he might scale them or open a breach, but generally without the slightest success. We propose briefly to consider some of the objections which have thus been made to our author, and estimate their value.

These objections have been chiefly made against the Analogy. No considerable objections have been urged against Butler's moral system. Mackintosh decides that there are no errors in this, though he thinks there are some defects—such as, that he neglects to assign any ground for the supremacy of conscience, or any objective rule for its action. These, we think, will hardly be regarded as valid objections at the present day. As to his having overlooked the evidence of the secondary character of self-love, which is another supposed defect referred to by this critic, we consider this rather the effect of his occasional and fragmentary method of treating morals, than as any real oversight. There can be no doubt that he fully understood and allowed the secondary character of this affection, and would have signalized it in a suitable manner in any full treatise on the subject; indeed, as it is, it is more than implied in several instances.* With the exception of the Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue, all Butler's moral treatises are in the form of sermons, admirably developing all the great principles, but without any pretense of covering and exhausting the whole subject. We should naturally expect some omission of details in such a mode of treatment. Indeed, this method, besides breaking the unity of his system, has undoubtedly damaged the reputation of Butler as a moralist in other respects. Sermons are not the most attractive species of literature to most readers, and are particularly unpromising as the vehicle of a philosophical system. Undoubtedly, this has had its full share in retarding his progress to that full and high appreciation as a moralist, which he deserves.

But the chief exceptions taken to Butler have been against his Analogy—of which the first is this: That the course of nature has been so altered by the fall, as to leave no safe ground for an analogy between it and the system of grace.

* See especially his first sermon on the Law of our Neighbor.

But the course of nature is still God's Providence, is still Divine Providence, and the world is God's world. And as long as this is the case, there must be just ground for an analogy between the systems of nature and grace. Whatever may have been the effects of the fall upon the course of nature, it is absurd to suppose them to be such as to make it a false or unsafe interpreter of the character and will of God. Indeed, natural religion is professedly founded upon nature as it is, and its teachings, as far as they go, are not at all at variance with those of revealed religion. At all events, it is allowed that the effects of the fall are confined chiefly or solely to man and his relations, and hence do not touch the general frame-work of nature and course of Providence; and it is from these confessedly intact parts of nature, that some of Butler's most weighty analogies for the special peculiarities of the remedial system are drawn.

Again, it has been objected to the Analogy, that it only shifts the difficulty from revealed to natural religion, and thus puts weapons into the hands of the atheist for the overthrow of both. What is sustained by nature may, in a general sense, be said to be natural, and hence analogy may be regarded as bearing particularly upon natural religion. But whatever be the religious teachings of analogy drawn from nature, they are of course null to an atheist, who not believing in God, can not believe in religion. With him, therefore, the apparent disorders in nature are regarded as real, and used by him as an argument against the existence of God and religion. Now, supposing this to be the necessary deduction from Butler's argument, by an atheist, the argument is still valid against the deist, and all other objectors, who must always constitute the great majority of unbelievers. But this is not the necessary nor even the natural effect of his argument upon the atheist. By considering these disorders as only apparent, as being parts of a scheme too vast and complicated for our feeble comprehension, he reconciles the mind to their consistency and justice, and thus wrests from the atheist the arguments which he draws from this source against God and natural religion, as well as those of deists against the Christian religion.

Again, it has been objected to the Analogy, by Tholuck,* that it runs an analogy between the *course* of nature and the *kingdom* of grace, while it ought in consistency to be directly between the two kingdoms. This objection is rather technical than real. Indeed, it is almost founded upon a misrepresentation. Butler draws his analogies not only from the *course*,

* Quoted by Fitzgerald.

but from the *constitution* of nature. He takes nature in all its parts, as it exists, as a fact, and draws out the grand parallelism which exists between it and religion; he confronts the book of nature with the book of revelation through their whole extent. Nature is viewed as a kingdom, just as much as grace is. They both have a constitution and a course—one just as much as the other, and may, therefore, be legitimately compared with each other in both these respects. But if Tholuck's meaning is, as perhaps it is, that both nature and religion are treated too much as facts, and too little as twin products of a common generating plan, then his objection resolves itself into a mere preference for a transcendental and speculative mode of treating the subject, instead of an accessible and practical one. Butler had too much good sound sense, and too much of the Baconian respect for facts, to attempt to go behind both nature and grace, and develop them from a common generating plan in the divine mind. The thing objected to, then, is what all sound practical thinkers will regard as his greatest excellence.

On the other hand, some particular arguments of the Analogy have, as we think, been assailed with success,—particularly, the argument for the oneness of the living agent, from the oneness of consciousness, and that for the existence of God, from our necessary conceptions of infinite space and time. But these arguments are not at all essential to his general conclusions, and indeed, are not his own, but Dr. Clarke's, reluctantly acquiesced in and adopted, (as we learn from his early correspondence with that distinguished philosopher and divine,) and not put forth with any prominence or much confidence. These two arguments, together with another from the chapter on the Moral Government of God, (that in justification of our being created with a capacity for evil,) are subjected to a most searching criticism in Duke's Analysis. As to the objection of Chalmers, and other Scottish metaphysicians, against Butler's occasional use of analogy as a positive argument, this will be considered at a later stage of this article.

Having disposed of these objections to Butler's principles, we are prepared to proceed to the principles themselves. His principles constitute what may be called a *moral system* and a *religious system*. The former is contained in his Sermons at the Rolls, and the Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue, and the latter, in the Analogy. We propose briefly to illustrate the central principle of each system—Conscience and Analogical Reasoning.

There are three great classes of perceptions, or intuitions,

which present themselves under a striking similarity of character, and have always been associated in men's thoughts and their expression of them—the perceptions of the Good, or Right, of the Beautiful, and of the True. The True is conceived as embracing whatever is real in existence, whether material or logical, whether in fact or in thought; the Right, whatever is fitting in action to the relations subsisting among beings; the Beautiful, whatever in nature or in action, is fitting in proportions, or mode, or attending circumstances. The faculty by which we apprehend Truth is Reason, that by which we apprehend Right is Conscience, and that by which we apprehend the Beautiful is Taste. They all, evidently, belong to the general principle of intelligence, since they are only so many forms of knowing; but are rightly distinguished as different faculties, since they each perform a different office, or apprehend things under different relations. A development of the similarities and differences between these powers and their objects will tend to fix the place of conscience, and establish its coöri-ginality with the other two faculties.

In attempting to define the Right, the Beautiful, the True, it was necessary to state vaguely, at least, what they are conceived to be; but strictly, they are each incapable of definition. We may doubtless learn by experience something of the circumstances under which these faculties pronounce a thing true, or right, or beautiful, and thus make out a tolerable description of the conditions under which they decide, and may call this a definition; but this is only for our own convenience, and to meet the necessities of the case. Thus we say, reason pronounces that true which has a real existence, either in fact or conception; and that truth, therefore, is what is real. But this is a mere hypothesis. Whether what the reason receives as true is real, or only seemingly so, we can never determine. It seems real, doubtless; but this is only saying that it seems true. That is to say, the reason receives a thing as true, simply because it recognizes it as true, and not because it knows its essential nature. So if we say, the reason receives that as true which is presented to it in the legitimate use of the senses, of the memory, of the judgment, &c., this is only describing the circumstances under which it receives truth, not at all the criterion of it. Hence we come to the result, that, as in all our original perceptions, truth is susceptible of no real definition, except an identical one; and all that we can say of it is, that truth is what is received as such by reason.

The same holds of the beautiful and the right. For the sake of convenience, we describe them in a loose way, as

consisting in a certain fitness or harmony of things. But whether there really be any such fitness in them or not, we can never positively determine. What we recognize as right or beautiful, seems, each in its own sphere, to possess a certain fitness; but we are confessedly not judges of the absolute fitness of things. The fitness referred to, is simply a moral or esthetic fitness, and is merely the conception which we have of the character of the right or the beautiful. Hence we do not recognize anything as right or beautiful, because it is fit, but conceive it as fit in that it is right or beautiful. So if we attempt to define these perceptions by enumerating the conditions under which they arise, we are only stating the circumstances under which they emerge into consciousness, not describing their nature, nor accounting for them. Here, then, as in the previous case, right can be defined only, as that which is recognized as such by conscience, and the beautiful only, as that which is recognized as such by the taste. The True, the Right, and the Beautiful, therefore, represent original perceptions, and Reason, Conscience, and Taste, appear as original powers.

But let us attend to some real, or supposed, differences between the action of these powers. Conscience, it is said, is not simply a discerning, but an impelling, or a commanding and forbidding power. And are not the other powers so too, at least to some extent? The language of conscience is, "This is the way, walk ye in it;" and is the language of reason or taste anything less than this? Does not reason say, just as distinctly, if not as authoritatively, "This is the truth, conform ye to it?" and taste, "This is the beautiful, admire and imitate it?" And would not a man act just as absurdly, who should discern the true or the beautiful and pay no regard to it in his conduct, as the man "who knows his duty and does it not?" The man who, understanding the law of gravity, should throw himself from a precipice, or perceiving the beauty of graceful manners, should assume those of a clown, would be as inconsistent as he, who, knowing the duty of honesty, refuses to pay his debts.

Still, it may be said, besides the apprehension of right and the impulse to it, various emotions or moral feelings, such as approbation, disapprobation, indignation, remorse, &c., are connected with the decisions of conscience, or rather, with the observance or violation of its rules. And are there not emotions, also, connected with the operation of the other powers? The emotions, in each department of our nature, seem very much dependent upon our general conceptions. It is plain that there could be no such thing as emotions, if there were no notions of truth, duty, &c., since the very

knowledge of all the particular things capable of producing emotion is comprehended in these. Even the discovery of abstract truth is attended with emotion, often the most intense, as witnessed in the *eureka* of Archimedes, and the particular objects which the passions go out after, must first be apprehended intellectually before they can be enjoyed sensually. Indeed, while the desire for such objects can not exist before they are perceived, in very many cases it springs up at once on their perception, and does so in all cases, after experience of their power to gratify. And as to the emotions connected with the beautiful, these confessedly spring up immediately in consequence of its perception. A man of taste sees everything as beautiful or deformed, and the perception always awakens with it corresponding emotions. The pleasures, and the vexations of taste, too, are familiar to all. It seems, then, that there still remains a general analogy between the three powers and their concomitants. The moral feelings are but a natural appendage to the moral faculty, as the other classes of desires and emotions are to the other powers.

And yet there is a difference. It must be admitted, with Plato, that the passions are more especially the ministers of conscience. Conscience has to do with actions, and therefore needs their aid more than either of the other powers. As our eternal weal or woe, as well as our present happiness, depends upon our conduct, and as others are affected by it also, it is much more important that we should be made to follow the dictates of conscience, than those of either reason or taste. Besides, it has the right to maintain harmony among conflicting interests and principles of action, and hence has a more difficult part to perform. Accordingly, we might expect that all the motives for obedience to conscience would be brought to bear upon us which can be thus brought consistently with freedom of choice. We are not forced to obey conscience, since this, by destroying our freedom, would destroy all virtue, and thus render the obedience worthless. But we are impelled to obedience by the most mighty motives; by a command sterner and more imperative than any other of which our nature is susceptible, by an approbation, a peace, calmer and sweeter than any which earth affords, and by a fear of punishment more withering and a remorse more pungent and torturing than anything this side the world of woe. At the command of conscience, the passions, like so many avenging spirits, spring up to torture the contemner of its authority. Shame crimson his face and guilt pierces his heart. Remorse rends his soul like an evil spirit. Fear haunts him by night and by day. Indig-

nation and Revenge frown upon him from the faces of his fellows, dread Displeasure looks down upon him from above, and all the Avenging Passions pursue him as so many Furies. Thus it is, that the passions are more especially the ministers of conscience. The commands of conscience are the most authoritative and the most powerfully enforced of any of our impulses. Our nature accords to them the highest place among the impulses to action, and pronounces all contravention of them by interfering passions, usurpation. And thus, with our author, we may truly say of conscience, that "had it strength as it has right, had it power as it has manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world."

Right, then, appears as a simple, original quality of actions, and conscience as an original power, presiding with authority over the moral relations of things, as reason does over their veritable relations, and taste over their esthetic relations. But as laborious attempts have been made, and still are made, to reduce the idea of right to some more simple idea, and especially to that of utility, we shall devote a few paragraphs to the consideration of such a possibility.

The doctrine of utility as a principle of morals, has received various forms and has been variously applied by different speculators. In Hobbes, it is a bold and shameless resolution of all virtue into the lowest form of selfishness; in Shaftesbury, it becomes a more decorous and refined principle of self-love; while in Paley and Bentham, it swells into that vague and ideal end, not only of all action, but of all existence, the principle of general utility, or the greatest good of the greatest number. But in all these forms there is a common element; they all resolve virtue into happiness, and make right only another name for utility; while, at the same time, by assuming happiness, either public or private, as the great utility, they make happiness the grand end of life, and the sole criterion of virtue. The question will be met, therefore, if it can be shown that the Moral Faculty sits in judgment upon the moral character of happiness, as it does upon other elements of conduct, and thus makes it but one of many considerations, which it embraces in its determinations of the morality of actions. This, therefore, we hasten to show.

It is admitted that one element of happiness, and a most important one too, consists in self-approbation, and the approbation of others; not simply in the approbation of certain actions of ours, but in the approbation of ourselves, also, on account of these actions. We do not speak of the satisfaction or gratification which one feels when he has done merely

a wise act, as when he has made a good bargain, or used his wits successfully in disentangling a complicated plot, but of a positive approbation of one's self as having done well, even when he has done nothing for himself, and has exerted no wisdom or prudence at all; as in plunging without thought of self into the water to rescue another from drowning, or any other act of pure benevolence. The utilitarian moralist delights to resolve all acts of benevolence into acts of selfishness, and would say that even such acts as the above are performed upon a refined calculation of the satisfaction and approval which he foresaw would follow them. Let him do so, if he can take pleasure in thus stultifying himself for the sake of defaming his kind; but it is plain that his explanation is wholly at variance with the facts in the case, and especially, does not at all account for that peculiar self-approbation and public approbation, which accompany such acts, on the special ground that they are generous, noble acts, and *free from all taint of selfishness*. Whence, then, comes this approbation? Why does he approve himself and others for such acts, while he disapproves those of an opposite character? Can any other answer be given to this question, than that he approves of some acts and disapproves of others, because he feels the former to be *right* and the latter to be *wrong*? The happiness of self-approbation and public approbation, then, depends upon the rightness of our actions, and not their rightness upon the happiness which they bring. For surely it would be reasoning in a vicious circle, to say that the happiness connected with an action depends upon its rightness, and yet that its rightness depends upon its capacity of producing happiness.

As to other kinds of happiness, besides that which arises from the moral approbation of ourselves or others, some of it is simply innocent, and some of it is regarded as decidedly, and even heinously, wrong. Not simply the acts, we mean, but the happiness itself connected with the acts, is disapproved as wrong. This is the case with most selfish and sensual enjoyment, especially when it is at the expense of others—as the enjoyment of the drunkard, of the debauchee, &c. That is, happiness itself is approved or disapproved as right or wrong: how then can it be the source of the idea of right?

Again, it is right to promote the happiness of others and wrong to injure them, or interfere with their happiness. But it is not, certainly, deemed right to promote all kinds of happiness in men. Some kinds of happiness in others appear immoral, as they do in ourselves, and such we can not minister to and be innocent. Even genuine benevolence to

others, as sacred a duty as it is in general, is limited, at least, as far as the outward act is concerned, by higher duties, and becomes wrong when it goes beyond that limit. All which goes to show that happiness, instead of being the source of the idea of right, is itself judged of by the Moral Faculty, like other acts and states. That is, the idea of right and wrong is supreme and ultimate within this sphere, as within others.

The truth is, the coincidence of Right even with the Greatest Amount of Happiness, is a mere speculation, interesting enough, and perhaps, probable in itself, if we regard the final issue of all things. But to say that the notion of right and wrong in the mind is determined in each case by a view of the utility of the act, in any sense, or that the consideration of consequences can be a sufficient rule of action to guide our lives, seems to us absurd. For how can the consequences be calculated; and especially, how can they be calculated with the rapidity which is necessary in the practical conduct of life?

We are thus brought to the central principle of Butler's MORAL SYSTEM, the independence and supremacy of Conscience among the different principles of action. This, we say, is really his central principle; and the supremacy of conscience is developed with masterly ability and distinctness, though its independence is rather assumed than established, or even asserted with any steadiness or emphasis. At the time he wrote, the terminology of morals was in great confusion, as well as its principles.* Not only were ethical writers divided as to whether there is any independent principle of morality, but as to the name which should be given it, admitting its existence. While, on the one hand, morality was referred to the Principle of Utility or the Will of God, as well as to a Moral Faculty, on the other, the Moral Faculty was variously denominated Right, Reason, the Moral Sense, and Conscience, besides other occasional and periphrastic designations. In this unsettled state of things, Butler did not choose to commit himself in terms to any of the conflicting theories, but seems, rather, in some passages, anxious to conciliate them. But the whole structure and weight of his system is in favor of the existence of a moral faculty and an independent morality, although he does not describe it as such in set terms.

We now pass to Butler's RELIGIOUS SYSTEM. This is not so much a system of doctrines as a system of defense of the commonly received doctrines of religion, both natural and

* See Whewell's *History of Moral Philosophy in England*, *Lecture VIII.*

revealed. It is entirely unique in character, and contained wholly in his treatise on the Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature.

The single principle of defense employed in all parts of the treatise, is that of analogy or likeness among things. The principle is evidently used with great moderation and fairness, and yet it may be well to fix its true nature and use, somewhat more definitely than has been done by the author. In a passage in the introduction, he declines, as foreign to his purpose, the instituting a systematic inquiry into the nature and uses of analogical reasoning, and devolves that duty upon the logicians. This duty has not been altogether neglected by that class of writers,* and accordingly, its nature and limits are now as accurately determined as those of any other species of reasoning.

Analogical reasoning is a species of induction; or, more properly, is of the nature of induction—is an incomplete induction. In induction proper, two things agreeing in one or more properties, are inferred to agree in a certain other property, which is shown to be *invariably conjoined* in one of the things with the property or properties which it has in common with the other; while in analogy, it is only necessary that this third property should not be capable of being shown *not to be connected* in one thing with the qualities in which the two agree. Thus, in one case, the inference of further agreement is made with certainty, in the other, with only a certain measure of probability;—in the one the conclusion is that the third thing must follow, in the other that it may. And this probability must vary in different cases, from the lowest presumption, or a bare possibility, to the highest moral certainty. The inference of further agreement between the two things resting wholly upon their observed likeness in certain properties or circumstances, the probable truth of the inference must depend wholly upon the nature of the observed likeness. If the observed likeness be such, that the inferred likeness would naturally, and almost unavoidably flow from it, as where two things are observed to be alike in a fundamental property and are inferred to be alike in a property derived from this, or otherwise, the inference is made with the highest moral certainty; but where the observed likeness is only slight and unimportant, any further likeness is inferred with feeble probability. But every observed likeness is some warrant for inferring a further likeness, since things alike in anything are more likely to be alike in another thing, than those which have nothing in common. And, on

* See especially, Mill's System of Logic, book iii., chap. xx.

the same principle, every dissimilarity is some warrant for inferring a further dissimilarity. Hence, the real strength of an analogical inference depends upon the extent and importance of the similarities between two things, compared with the extent and importance of their dissimilarities.

With this explanation of the nature of analogy, we are prepared to appreciate the application which has been made of it by our author. It is employed by him in defense of the doctrines and evidence of religion, chiefly against objections, but occasionally as a positive argument. The legitimacy of its use in repelling objections on this subject, no one can doubt; nor can any one doubt of its triumphant success, who will patiently follow the author through the treatise. The case stands thus: Religion, as an institution and a system of doctrines ordained of God, is objected to by men, as unreasonable and inconsistent in many parts, and it is proposed to repel these objections by showing that the like objections may be made against nature and the present course of things, which are now allowed to be from God. It is asked, how religion, which has so many objectionable features, can be from God, and it is answered, that these objectionable features are just as consistent with the idea of its being from God, as the like features in nature are with *its* being from God. The two systems, then, the material and the spiritual, the present and the future, are shown to be alike in objectionable features, and they are inferred to be alike in their origin. The argument does not profess to prove that either of the systems is from God, but that one can not be denied to be from God, on account of objectionable features, unless the other be; and this it is fully competent to do, and does do, beyond the possibility of a reply. It is sufficient thus to have indicated the nature of the argument in its negative or defensive form; the ingenuity and thoroughness with which it is applied, can be learned only by a perusal of the whole treatise.

As to the argument in positive form, it is but little used in any part of the work. It is capable, however, of being used thus, as is evident from the account which has been given of the nature of the principle of analogy. The most extended application of it in its positive form, is to be found in the first chapter of Part First. There the object is, not so much to repel objections against the doctrines of a future life by analogies from the present, as to render the fact of our existence beyond death probable. Hence, the analogies from the transformations of plants and animals, and from the continuance of life in man through various mutilations, suspensions of the signs of life, and the wasting of disease up to the moment of death. These analogies certainly render it prob-

able that the living agent will survive death. They do not simply remove opposite probabilities, as contended by Dr. Chalmers; they give a positive credibility to the doctrine. With some acknowledged imperfection in certain links of the argument, no one can rise from a careful perusal of the chapter without feeling that the doctrine is something more than "not disproven," that it is, indeed, nearer to what is called "proven," though not, of course, established demonstratively and beyond all cavil. At all events, it is plain that analogy may have a positive force, and it seems to us that it has in this and many other parts of Bishop Butler's treatise.

But after all, it is admitted, that the great force of analogy, as applicable to the subject of religion, is defensive, and hence *conservative* in its effects. And it is precisely this which has given to the treatise of Bishop Butler, from the moment of its first appearance to the present time, its acknowledged preëminence among all the books which have been written in defense of religion. It confounds the caviler, it checks the reckless speculator. Those upon whom the interests of morality and the other great interests of society rest, are always conservative. From the nature of the case, they always must be. Not that the truth and the right are always on the side of conservatism, but great interests must not be jeopardized by sudden changes; and especially, things practically good must not be surrendered too hastily for what is asserted to be theoretically better. This is the universal cry of reckless speculators—they always profess to have discovered some better way; a way more consonant with reason, and free from the inconsistencies and absurdities of that in practice. But the really responsible men in society are always chary of theories; their motto is: "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good." And in matters of religion, they find no more powerful auxiliary in doing this, than Butler's Analogy. It tends to prevent a reckless spirit of speculation on the subject, and throws up an impregnable rampart before the sterner doctrines of religion which are more likely to be objected against.

We know of no author who has shown so clearly the incapacity of man to speculate upon these high subjects. If the presumption and arrogant pretensions of man can ever be humbled, they must be before his wide-sweeping and far-reaching analogies. He bids the daring critic of the works and ways of God, go on with his reveries, and fill out his amended system of things, and then in the simplest and quietest way possible, shows him that he has no faculties for such speculations, and that his scheme is a mere series of imagin-

ings, proposed as a substitute for the veritable facts of nature. He refers the hardy objector against the doctrines of religion, to the like things in the providence and dealings of God here; and justifies the ways of God to man implied in religion, by an appeal to what he actually experiences in this life. To the supercilious caviler, confident in his shallow wisdom, he presents both the system of things with which we have come in contact, and that which is revealed to us, as but fragments of an infinitely larger scheme, and hence, as little susceptible of rational criticism from us, as the fragment of a demolished statue, or a few detached wheels and springs of a complicated machine.

It is a little remarkable, too, that in nothing has Butler been more successful than in his defense of the sterner doctrines of religion. Where religion is most liable to be objected against, there, precisely, is analogy the strongest. Nature is always serious, and often stern. It gives little countenance to that mawkish sentimentality, which would disrobe God of all his severer attributes, and subject him to the control of the single principle of sympathy or benevolence. And it is one of the greatest merits of the *Analogy* that it brings out in all its strength, this confirmatory testimony of nature to the sterner aspects of the character of God and religion, as revealed in the Scriptures. Butler undoubtedly betrays, at times, some meagerness and perhaps defectiveness, in his views of Christian doctrines, especially of the distinguishing doctrines of grace, but he saw too clearly the teachings of analogy, to shrink from the doctrines of a controlling principle of righteousness in the character of God, and a state of punishment for the wicked in another world. The chapters which treat of these subjects, are argued with great fullness and ability, and are among the most successful in the treatise.

Butler's *Analogy* has been a highly honored book. It has been more universally admired for its depth and thoroughness than any other book on the same, or perhaps any other subject. It has received the homage and acquiescence of the best minds in every age since its appearance. It has done more to shield religion from the ruthless attacks of its enemies, and drive back the Vandal hosts of infidelity from our altars—we had almost said—than all other books put together. Nor is its mission yet completed. It is as much needed now as ever, and as well adapted as ever to guard our faith, and will remain, we doubt not, to the end of time, one of the chief bulwarks of its defense.

ART. VI.—THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

The Mission of the Comforter, with Notes. By JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M. A., Archdeacon of Lewes, Rector of Hertsmonceux, and late Fellow of Trinity College. From the second London revised edition, with the Notes translated for the American edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854.

THE spirit of the present age is very different, in some of its characteristics, from that of the age which preceded it. That reflective habit of mind, which distinguished our fathers, seems to be possessed in a less degree by their children. Men are ever craving excitement, and throwing themselves into the whirlpools of activity, satisfied only when they find themselves rapidly borne forward by the current of passing events. Sense exerts over them a mightier influence than spirit. The seen occupies more of their thoughts than the unseen. That which is addressed to the intellect alone, affects them less than that which appeals to the passions. There is more living in the present than formerly, and the life lived is one of greater intensity; but there is less sympathy with the past or the future. "Whatever," says Dr. Johnson, "withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings." And if this be a just standard of the intellectual character of any age, it would seem evident that the present is inferior, in some respects, to the past.

As a consequence of what we have spoken of, there is a strong tendency to formalism in religion. Those secret forces, in which the real power and life of Christianity lie, not being readily discerned by minds trained under the influence of sense, if not forgotten or overlooked, are not appreciated as they should be, and hence are not made to occupy the place that should be given them. In many things, there is more dependence upon outward agencies and forms, than there is upon the workings of the Divine Spirit. The outward takes precedence of the inward, and thus the order of heaven is reversed.

We would not, however, by any means, unqualifiedly regret that the peculiar character of the age is what it is. Our

firm belief is, that the spirit of earnest activity and enterprise that distinguishes the present day, is indispensable to the accomplishment of the great purposes of Jehovah, and is, moreover, an unmistakable indication that those purposes are to be fulfilled. God always adapts means to ends. He raises up his own agencies to bring about his plans. If, as Christians, we believe that the world is to be converted to Christ, we must believe that just such a manifestation of intense energy, of enlarged desires, and of vigorous effort, as characterizes our times, associated with the promised aids of the Holy Spirit, is absolutely necessary to secure that result. The conversion of the world would be an Utopian scheme, considered in connection with the spirit of half a century since. If we were to adjust the required *human* means to the end contemplated, we should say that the prevailing genius of our times, greatly intensified, is that which *must* be put into requisition, in order that the predictions of ancient seers may be realized in this particular. We hail it as an omen of good, as an evidence, sufficient and satisfactory, of the fact that "the wheels of nature are not made to roll backward," and that God is about to move forward "his sublime affairs," in spite of the malignant opposition of wicked men, that this is an age of vast, unparalleled activity and enterprise. At the same time, the principle remains as true as ever, that it is "not by might nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord," that the predictions of the Old or of the New Testament are to be fulfilled.

The state of things to which we have referred, however, we can not but regard as, in some respects, an unnatural one. It is unnatural, because it is extreme. And as extreme, it can not, in its present aspects, possess permanency. Hence, we can expect, with confidence, to witness, in relation to it, great changes, such as action and reaction, in their invariable and necessary connection with each other, would be likely to produce. For a time, indeed, while immense inducements to material enterprise exist, and vast fields for exertion are opened, we may look for as intense a spirit of activity as we now witness. The fire will rage, while there are so many dry acres to be burned over; but when, in consequence of having consumed the chief portion of its fuel, it has spent its fury and subsided, a more healthy condition of things will succeed. We imagine that reflection, the love and habit of thinking more deeply, will return, while all the active characteristics of the present day will remain, and will be employed in pushing on, to a glorious and triumphant consummation, those grand moral and religious projects that are

aiming at the amelioration of the condition of the race, and the regeneration of the world. We see, even now, symptoms of such a change. In our opinion, there were never so many minds directed to religious inquiries, as there are at the present time. Some, indeed, may lean toward, or be set on the track of investigation by the rationalism which, having sprung up in German soil, and there grown to be a large tree, with wide-spreading branches on every side, has been propagated by offshoots in this western world. But even this phase of religious development—if it be worthy of the name—is destined to accomplish much toward bringing into existence the habits of thinking, of which we speak; while, without a question, those very habits which it will aid in forming, will, in the end, be fatal to itself. Even now it is materially affecting the character of our literature. So also, it may be said that science is contributing to the same end. Never were so many minds employed in scientific investigations as now. Multitudes of people are listening with rapt attention to lectures on topics of this nature, that employ the mightiest minds in their mastery and elucidation. The yellow-covered literature, so omnipresent and obtrusive a few years since, is pretty much all laid on the shelf, and only here and there do we see any of it, to remind us of its former popularity and influence. Spiritualism is likewise engrossing the attention of numerous individuals, and has already constructed for itself a literature. Nor do we behold in this fact any other than a hopeful omen. We confess that we would rather see men's thoughts engaged in *such* things than traveling exclusively in the narrow, tread-mill path of materialism. The very act of looking out of and beyond self, of bringing the mind into contact with ideas of another state of being and association, and of employing it in things mysterious and obscure, is an advantage, even though it may come to wrong conclusions, and embrace, for a time, pernicious errors. The habit formed, in such circumstances, is a partial antidote to the imaginary evidence; as the guide that leads men's minds into the dark caverns of delusion, when they seek to be specially wise and profound, will conduct them back ultimately, into the bright light of day, and all the sooner, because the darkness is not so agreeable as the light. In this view, we hail with joy and gratitude, what appear to many, to be black clouds, ominous of evil, inasmuch as the elements with which they are charged, are fraught with a purifying energy, and are destined with all their seeming destructiveness, to save and to bless. It is grateful, after a long paralysis of the deep thinking powers of men, to see anything that will disturb

and arouse them. Perhaps no other means could produce this effect, and it may be an arrangement of Infinite Wisdom, that a host of the most absurd religious errors should be allowed to stalk forth, and call men's thoughts and feelings into an intenser activity in the right direction.

We are expecting, in due time, as the result of various agencies, a golden age—not such an one as was sung by ancient bards—but an age that shall be characterized by a more perfectly developed entireness, on the part of man, an age in which the outward shall not be all, and in which material greatness shall not constitute the chief fact. We are looking for an age that shall recognize, in some degree at least, the existence of a soul as belonging to man, not as a trifling adjunct of his nature, but as being that nature itself, its essence, its might and its glory. We are looking for an age in which the invisible connected with him, as well as the visible, shall be unfolded, and that in a corresponding degree, and in which, indeed, the first shall give character to, and control, the last. And when this dream is realized, if it be a dream, do we expect to see those instrumentalities which are now but slowly moved by Lilliputian hands, grasped by the arms of giants, and hurried on to the full accomplishment of their noble mission.

Whatever is calculated to raise the spiritual element above the material, to magnify the importance of the one, and to dwarf down the present huge dimensions of the other, or, in a word, to create a deeper feeling in reference to the power, as distinguished from the form of religion, we regard as of vast moment. The present age is one of show, in religious things as well as others. Elegant houses of worship, splendid choral performances, and eloquent preaching, seem to be considered, practically, as the power that moves the church, and that is destined to convert the world. This feeling is the natural offspring of the existing materialistic spirit. It springs from beholding the omnipotence of human enterprise, in conjunction with great accumulations. Men and money are regarded as the "all and in all." The minds of Christians are diverted from the inward power of the gospel, and especially from properly considering the importance of the Spirit's agency in the great work to which the church is consecrated. What is spiritual, and hidden from the eye of sense, is lost sight of. Now such agencies and influences as are calculated to bring back the church to contemplate, and feel the necessity for, an ever present energy in and with the gospel, one that tends to repress the outward, and bring into superior prominence the inward elements of prosperity

and success, are to be hailed with joy and gratitude. And a publication that lends its aid to this work, is doing for the cause of God an invaluable service.

Such, in some respects, is the volume of Archdeacon Hare which we have placed at the head of this article. It contains five sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, (England,) in 1840, and is entitled "The Mission of the Comforter." The larger portion of the book consists of notes, some of which are original, wholly or in part, while others are made up chiefly of extracts from the writings of different authors, Greek, Latin and French, and some of which, in the English edition, were untranslated. They have been translated, however, for the edition before us, and that, too, in a very satisfactory manner, by Prof. Hovey, of Newton Theological Institution. The notes constitute, in reality, the more valuable portion of the volume. They are worthy of the most careful study, and should receive, especially from clergymen and theological students, a thorough and attentive perusal. A debt of gratitude is due to Prof. H. for the service he has performed. He judges rightly when he says, in his preface to this edition, that "if the small number who would have preferred the original to a version, bear in mind the great satisfaction and profit which the work, as now published, will afford to the many, the course which we have taken will be duly appreciated."

The editor, in his preface, alludes to the fact that the author's belief in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration occasionally discovers itself in these sermons. This is so; but in only a few instances, and in not a very offensive form. We have been inclined to think that this papal dogma belongs to the author's liturgy, rather than to himself, and not that it underlies as a principle, his whole religious system. At all events, the use he makes of it can do no great harm; neither, except on the supposition that it is a fundamental fact with him, could its introduction into these discourses accomplish any good. It would seem natural, however, and we believe we can make the supposition without being at all uncharitable—addressing the dignitaries of a renowned University, and a large number of young men, whose connection with that ancient seat of learning involved, if our memory be not at fault, a subscription to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, that the preacher should *allude*, at least, to so important a doctrine in the creed of "the Church," and show, notwithstanding his decidedly evangelical views, and his high ideas of the real power and life of the church, that he has no notion of censuring or

deserting the mother who has so carefully nursed him, and from whom he is still receiving the rich milk of substantial stipends. But we confess, the spectacle is to us a somewhat surprising one, that a man whose conceptions of the work of the Comforter are such as are given in this book, and who writes like one who has been baptized into a spirit too expansive to be hemmed in by a state establishment, should submit to the trammels of Prelacy and Churchism. *His* church should be God's own elect, wherever found, and *his* heart should beat responsive to that of the universal kingdom of Jesus Christ. It should be left to those who have the form without the power, to stand by, and endeavor to bolster up, a corrupt hierarchy, whose very existence is a curse to myriads of immortal souls.

In one of the notes, Archdeacon Hare drops an expression that seems to favor the idea that it is the duty of his church to furnish herself with a new version of the Bible. If it be the duty of *his* church, it would seem to be the duty of other churches likewise, who use an English version of the Scriptures. In regard to the abstract question of the desirableness of a new translation, there are innumerable Christians who would be disposed to agree with him; and could it be obtained in such a manner as to secure a degree of unanimity in the use of it equal to that which now exists in relation to our standard English Bible, ten thousand voices and hands would be raised in favor of the greatly to be desired consummation. Let it be shown how this can be done—by what agency within our power, and we should declare it to be one of the first works of the church—not of a branch of the body, but of the great universal church—to secure for herself a more full, perfect version of the revelation made by God to man. But until this is done, we shall be obliged to content ourselves with laboring under all the disadvantages that have attended us in our course hitherto. While we would respect the views of those who differ from us on this point, and admire the faith that impels them onward with so much assurance and zeal, we must nevertheless declare ourselves unable as yet to look forward to such a success as alone would seem to us to justify the effort to secure *at present* the much wished for end. The sympathies of too small a portion of Christendom are with any movement in this direction, and hence we feel that the time has not yet arrived for anything more than preliminary measures at the most. There may in the lapse of time be such a sentiment as to warrant an attempt of this kind; but in order that it may be a successful attempt, it must be the result of an

universal, spontaneous and irrepressible conviction of its extreme urgency and indispensableness.

As a general thing, "The Mission of the Comforter" is written in a style of much elegance. It is marked by great clearness and considerable elevation; and as one reads it, he finds himself borne along by the rapid flow of the author's thoughts, and the smooth beauty of his diction, somewhat as he is by that of Chalmers and Melville. Archdeacon Hare is inferior to those very eminent men in brilliancy and sublimity; but he has, perhaps, more raciness and point. Occasional blemishes appear in his style, and sometimes a faultiness in his rhetoric. He is not free from what, for want of a better term, we would denominate Carlyleisms, and in this respect is like some other late English writers. He has breadth of view and great copiousness of language. The matter of his sermons might have been compressed into narrower limits; but considered as sermons, we would not regard their fullness an objection. The heart of the author is evidently in sympathy with his subject: he has a profound conviction of the truth of the views which he advocates, and writes like one who has felt the influence of the Comforter on his own soul. The book is eminently spiritual in sentiment, thorough in its discussions, and correct in its theology. We can heartily indorse it, as calculated, in many respects, to produce right views in regard to the importance and necessity of the pressure and power of the Holy Spirit. And coming from the source it does, it is thrice welcome.

The title of the volume, it strikes us, is hardly appropriate to the design of these discourses. It could more properly have been, "The Mission of the Spirit in Conviction," for the discussion contemplates, not exclusively the mission of the Comforter as such, but other portions of the work of that Divine agent. The term Comforter, as applied by our Lord to the Spirit, whom he promised to his disciples, we have always supposed to have had its origin in their peculiar circumstances. He saw them grieved and disheartened, in view of his expected departure. Hence he endeavored to console them in their hour of trial, by promising to send to them one who would comfort them when he was gone, or in other words "the Comforter." One part of the Spirit's work was to comfort them, and hence, in view of this service which he was to render them, he would be to them what the Saviour called him. And although, in immediate connection with this promise, a declaration was made as to a part of his general work, we can not suppose that that general work was the province of the Spirit in his office of Comforter.

Doubtless the announcement of what he would do was a circumstance calculated to sustain and comfort the hearts of the disciples. It may have been one source of their intense feeling, in view of Christ's departure, that that glorious work which he came to perform, of which they had begun to entertain some faint conceptions, and in which their hearts had become deeply enlisted, would probably all come to naught. They may have felt their own inadequacy to the task of carrying on what he had commenced, and that the Saviour's mission would prove a sublime failure, an occasion for the mockery of enemies, and the despair of the few friends whom he had made. And we can conceive that it was as if their Master had said, "Be not grieved at my departure. It is necessary for you. I will send you One to comfort you. And besides, when he is come, he will carry on, with mightier energy and in a far more efficient manner, the enterprise which I have begun. He will be a personal comforter to yourselves, while at the same time you may derive consolation from the fact, that in the advancement of the kingdom which I have established, he will wield a conqueror's power, and effect numerous triumphs over darkness and sin."

We purpose to follow our author, in the general positions which he has taken, in these discourses, and at the same time give utterance to our own views on the points he has considered. We design also to present such additional statements in regard to the work of the Spirit, as we may deem necessary to complete the true idea of this subject, as it lies in our own mind.

As introductory to the subject, we would remark, that in the plan of redemption, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the different persons in the Trinity, are united. Each has, so to speak, his peculiar work to do, or office to fill. The Father we can regard as the embodiment and representative of the principle of Sovereignty, of Justice. He occupies the throne of empire. He sits there in the calm dignity of kingly authority. From him goes forth the law. From his lips fall those words that confirm felicity to the obedient, as well as those that seal the doom of the rebellious subjects of his government. It is his province to see that the fundamental principle on which his throne is based, is everywhere, throughout his vast dominions, triumphantly vindicated. He, as a person, also represents law—stern, equitable and inexorable law. Though his nature is Love, he personates Justice. And, indeed, what is Justice but Love? Their original elements are the same. In a comprehensive view,

Justice is the highest, strongest Love. In an earthly executive, evidence of a true, rational affection for all is shown never so clearly, as when *all* those principles, justice included, on which the happiness and protection of a community rest, are strictly acted on and carried out in all their rigor.

The Son, the next person in this Trinity, is the representative of Mercy. He stands forth, to the view of the universe, as the agent through whose mediation Mercy can be exercised toward the offender, he having himself satisfied every claim of Justice or of law. Appearing in a character seemingly (though not really) antagonistical to that of the Father, it belongs to him to solve the question, whether Justice and Mercy can harmonize; whether, while the hand of Mercy reaches forth to rescue and save the guilty, the hand of Justice can sustain the edifice of moral government; whether, while hearts beat exultant with the liveliest gratitude on account of a glorious salvation, angels and pure spirits everywhere can sing the praises of an unimpeachable veracity and an untarnished honor; whether, while all that is kind and tender in the divine nature is exercised and gratified, every mind can declare that all is right. And this is the question which Christ, the second person in the God-head, representing Mercy, has answered.

Then the Holy Spirit, likewise, has his peculiar and appropriate work. Like the other persons in the Trinity, he is the representative of a principle, viz., that of Holiness, a principle which characterizes the moral state of all who have maintained obedience to the divine law, and the normal condition of the race of man. He has a perfect sympathy with the claims of Justice, on the one hand, and the promptings of Mercy, on the other. He desires the largest exercise of the last; but demands that it be in entire consistency with the first, so that intelligent beings can still say, "Justice and Judgment are the habitation of God's throne." It is his wish that Justice and Mercy be wedded to each other, and formed into the closest union, so that, in the salvation of the sinner, they can be seen in their highest beauty and lustre, each alike animated by the great principle of Love, from which they originally sprang. He sees, on the part of man, the object of the benevolence of Deity, an incorrigible stubbornness, a relentless will, a determination not to be the recipient of divine favor, an indisposition to take a single step back toward the throne from which he has wandered. He sees, in God the sovereign, the impossibility of yielding a single iota of his claims, or of moving a hair's breadth toward the transgressor. He beholds these two parties at

variance, fixed and seemingly immovable in their position. Justice declares itself satisfied, if the sinner will return to favor through the prescribed medium of that satisfaction. Mercy proclaims that it has done all it can do, and all that it was necessary for it to do. They both unite to warn the rebel of his danger, if he still persist in standing beneath the edge of Justice's glittering sword, and to invite him to return to him from whom he has departed. But of what avail is it? What appears to be the power of an all-sufficient atonement? All that has been done by Christ, acting out the promptings of Mercy, is apparently in vain. How utterly useless was the work that made Justice declare itself satisfied, and inspired the hope, in the bosom of Mercy, that the object of its intensest solicitude would be secured? The sinner *will not* be saved! He will not seek to have the sunshine of God's smile rest upon him, through the powerful mediation of Jesus Christ. An unrelenting will, the offspring of a dreadful depravity, is likely to defeat an end which all heaven has been moved to effect. The way of life has been opened; but the offender will not walk in it, and there is nothing in the atonement of Christ *as such*, that is able to attract his footsteps toward it. The *form* of salvation, so to speak, is perfect; not an item is wanting; but the *power* is absent. The *machinery* of grace is complete; but the motive energy is not found. Notwithstanding the amazing, and as it would seem, almost omnipotent considerations that spring from the doctrine of Christ crucified, they alone never influenced a perishing sinner to cast himself on divine Mercy, as embodied in the work and merits of an atoning Saviour.

A necessity is here seen to exist, for more than Justice reasonably satisfied, on the one side, and Mercy making its most strenuous exertions through Christ, on the other. The body which has been created must have a life infused into it, so that it may become animate, and act with efficiency and success. Now the communicating of this life, the imparting of the energy necessary to make the atonement of any avail, is the work of the Holy Spirit—his great work, in a comprehensive view. It is the province of that agent, to form such a connection between the soul of the sinner and the efficacy of Christ, as shall enable that soul, in the enjoyment of a high spiritual life, and a restored holiness, to glory in the wonderful interposition of Mercy which has been made in its behalf. Or in other words, if the work of Christ has been designed to secure to the soul the joys of a glorious destiny, such as, and even nobler than would have

been its portion, had it passed honorably and unharmed the period of its probation, the Holy Spirit lends his aid, and gives a vital efficacy to the work. Without his power, the object desired and purposed could not be accomplished.

Hence the Holy Spirit, in effecting the ends of Christianity, is the energizing power. In whatever form spiritual life appears among men, it comes from this agent. There never was a heart, whose aspirations ascended to the throne of God, and whose will was submissive to that of the Most High, which could not trace all the moral excellence associated with it to this Divine source. Such is the depravity of the heart, that nothing good, either as an emotion or an action, could have originated in it; but if good come to exist there, it must have been imparted by an external agent, and that no less than the Holy Spirit. It is his province, by means of forces existing in himself, to cause the rebel, who had been unmoved and uninfluenced to act, to cease his opposition or indifference, and to incline him toward the Sovereign to whom he owes allegiance and affection. The Holy Spirit, so to speak, solemnizes the nuptials between Justice and Mercy, and the sinner's heart is the altar upon which the vows are laid, and which itself becomes consecrated by the sacred and glorious union.

According to this view, then, the Spirit sustains some such relation to the Gospel system, as the subtle and mysterious principle of life does to man's physical frame. And in general terms, the work he has to perform is strikingly analogous to that which results from the existence of life in the human body. He vivifies, at the same time, the atonement of Christ and the soul of man, and brings them into a living connection with each other, a connection which he fosters and continues, until it is made perfect, in a full maturity, in the abodes of everlasting blessedness and peace.

This entire work, in its accomplishment, has successive steps, and ordinarily advances by a gradual process. Our author, in these discourses, contemplates but *one* step in that process, viz., conviction. The basis of his discussion is found in those memorable words of the Saviour addressed to his disciples, as contained in the sixteenth chapter of John's Gospel: "When the Comforter is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment," &c. He contends, and we fully concur with him in his view respecting it—that the word rendered "reprove" in our version, would have been more correctly and intelligibly given, if it had been translated "convince." We do not propose to present or consider his arguments in favor of this render-

ing; but we think they must be conclusive to every candid mind, as they show very clearly that no other view can give a satisfactory explanation of the *whole* process of conviction here alluded to. We commend his treatment of this point to the careful attention of those who read the volume.

The first of these five discourses is an elaborate, able, and very satisfactory discussion of the necessity for Christ's departure from his disciples, accompanied by some interesting analogies suggested by the age, character and circumstances of the audience whom he addressed, the most of whom were pursuing their academic studies in the University. The second has for its subject, "the conviction of sin." He shows that this conviction is something more than the mere knowledge of the fact of sinfulness, or in other words, that it is a supernatural emotion, in which the existence of sin and of guilt is felt to be a living, personal reality, and not a phantom of the imagination, or a perception of the understanding. He proves beyond a reasonable doubt, that this conviction is not produced by conscience, although conscience is God's vicegerent in the soul. He also brings to view the fact that the law, as including what we term the law of nature and the moral law, is incapable of bringing into existence this state of mind, and hence that conviction for sin must be the direct product of the Spirit's agency on the heart. The reasonings of the author are clear, convincing and conclusive, and he makes the positions he assumes on this point incontrovertible, according to our way of thinking. He regards the *great* sin, by way of eminence and criminality, to be that of unbelief, agreeably to the succeeding expression of the Saviour, "Of sin, because they believe not in me." This whole sermon is exceedingly rich in illustration and argument, and though written in the style of a sermon, and designed for popular effect, is calculated to interest every mind that loves to witness soundness in the faith, and a bold advocacy of truths which, in these days, are too often lightly passed over, or entirely kept out of sight.

The third sermon treats of "the conviction of righteousness." The author brings to view, in it, the fact that Philosophy, Poetry and the corrupt Religions of antiquity could not furnish man an ideal of a true, perfect righteousness—one that would present before him what he needed, and afford him a complete pattern, according to which to mould his character; and that they could not supply, so to speak, the substance or texture of such a character. Such a righteousness, he argues, the Holy Spirit shows to the world in Christ, and that because he ascended on high. His going to

his Father gave an opportunity for the exhibition of his *whole* righteousness that could not have been furnished otherwise. The view taken of this part of the subject, although not particularly original, and perhaps not sufficiently comprehensive to meet the full meaning of the term "righteousness," is brought out with so much freshness and vigor, as to interest deeply the mind of the reader, while he unhesitatingly assents to the truth as set before him in so glowing a manner.

In the fourth sermon, is a consideration of "the conviction of judgment," which our author regards as the condemnation which "the Prince of this World" has received from Christ, in consequence of an exposure of his character and designs, as contrasted with those which we associate with man's great Deliverer. The concluding discourse is on "the threefold conviction of the Comforter," under which topic is gathered together, and united in one sermon, the substance of the entire preceding discussions. The views of conviction contained in this volume, although unobjectionable, and perhaps strictly correct, in themselves considered, are not, we opine, just what the Saviour had in mind when he gave the promise of the Comforter, and spoke of what he would do in the world, nor do we deem them to express just what an individual soul is conscious of, when in that moral state which we denominate conviction. We imagine that a sense of personal guiltiness, or what is *positive* in its character, weighs down the spirit more heavily than the negative fact of "unbelief," although unbelief, when properly contemplated, is felt to be a sin of no ordinary criminality. We are inclined to suppose that the "righteousness" brought before the mind by a spiritual apprehension of the law of God—the perfect righteousness required and necessary in order to merit heaven—is that which more particularly administers the keen pangs of anguish experienced in conviction, inasmuch as it begets a consciousness that it is not possessed. It is not our opinion that "the judgment," a sense of which oppresses the convicted soul, is the harmless and unalarming idea that Jesus hath condemned the Ruler of this world. We think there are more awful terrors than this felt in connection with "the conviction of the judgment." We are inclined to believe that it implies a sense of exposure to the judgment to come, without the relieving assurance that the great Advocate and Judge is one's friend. What our author says is unquestionably all good and true; but we can not accept it as a *full* statement of conviction. He seems to us, in the view he has taken, to have risen into the higher, the

more speculative, and the less practical regions of truth. Having left the *terra firma* of common experience, he has sailed along, an intellectual aeronaut, in the more elevated and less dense strata of the atmosphere of thought, forgetful of the fact, perhaps, that comparatively few would be able to keep him company in his flight. It were not unnatural, that a mind of high culture, and ardent imagination, allied to a heart in love with truth, and spiritual in its tastes, especially in addressing a series of discourses like these, to scholars, should be disposed to try a loftier and wider range than is ordinarily taken. This may all be very well, and we are not disposed to complain of it. But we would have been better pleased, if he had given us the lower, as well as the upper strata of the truth in relation to conviction.

The views which we have thus brought forth from Arch-deacon Hare's book contain all that he has furnished us, in regard to "the Mission of the Comforter." In our opinion he has, in what he has said of conviction, given us very little of what would appropriately come within the province of the Spirit in this office. He has carried us only through the first stage of the process that results in the comfort which this Divine agent administers to the soul, and there has left us. By a forced effort he endeavors to show that comfort springs from the conviction which he has been considering; but it is difficult to feel perfectly satisfied that he has been successful. If this alone constituted "the Mission of the Comforter," we should have occasion to deplore the sad fact, that a train of operations was commenced, in order to effect man's salvation, and was afterward abandoned by their originator as inadequate to the contemplated end.

But notwithstanding, considered not as a theological treatise, but as a discussion of truth which is of great importance, in some respects, to the individual Christian and the church, the work is an exceedingly valuable one. For, the author does, in an emphatic manner, raise the spiritual above the temporal. And this, in such an age as ours—an age in which, as we have already intimated, material interests are deemed of paramount consequence—is of vast moment. He places the Holy Spirit before our minds in such a position as to make it impossible that he should be left out of sight. He shows him to be the great, efficient agent in connection with Christianity, without whose constant presence and aid, nothing can be successfully done. On this account, we hail the volume, in spite of its deficiencies, as likely to do great good. We could wish it to be extensively circulated, "read, marked

and inwardly digested," among all who bear the Christian name. And the cause of evangelical religion may well congratulate itself, that one whose position in the English hierarchy is so eminent, and who is himself so distinguished, should have had the disposition and courage to preach such a course of sermons, in such a presence, and afterward to give them to the public. We wish such men were multiplied a thousand-fold. What few are found in the Church of England were doubtless raised up by God to neutralize the influence of those hierarchs who, in the bosom of the establishment, are sowing so widely the seeds of disunion and death.

In taking leave of this volume for the purpose of giving our own views, though necessarily in a brief manner, on what *we* deem the "Mission of the Comforter," or the Holy Spirit, we can not refrain from referring to the tasteful manner in which the mechanical portion of the work before us is done. The religious community owe a debt of gratitude to the enterprising house of Gould & Lincoln for the many valuable issues of their press. We wish them nothing worse than an amply remunerative success, and a consciousness that they are furnishing their generation with abundance of healthful aliment for the nurture of both the intellect and the heart.

In the matter of the soul's salvation, which is the work of the Holy Spirit—for we use the term salvation in its broadest sense, as including all that the soul can need, both in this life and in that which is to come—there are successive steps, as we have already said, the first of which is conviction, and to which alone the work which we have been noticing is almost exclusively confined. This Divine agent reveals to the heart on which he operates, the moral character possessed by it, the holiness of God and of his law, as well as the certainty and dreadfulness of coming retribution. These are ideas that fill every mind, in a state of conviction. There is self the sinner—there is God, the sinned against—and there is death, the penalty of transgression and guilt. These, in our view, are truths discovered to man, in their real import, by the Spirit of God alone. Experience would seem to teach this. How can we account for the fact that these truths, at *all* times as familiar as the light of day, it may be, at *some* periods scarcely receive a single thought, and have no perceptible influence on the feelings, while, at *other* times, they enchain the attention, and seem to burn themselves into the very soul, causing an agony that prompts the exclamation, "What shall I do?" How can this be explained, except on the ground that the

Spirit is absent in the one case, and present and active in the other? That such changes in one's feelings from apathy to the intensest emotion and solicitude occur in multitudes of cases every year, is indisputable, for many witness them, while others are conscious of them. Such a state as we speak of, in which not merely the passions or sympathies are excited, but in which we see a deep heart-conviction of the truths referred to, can be explained satisfactorily, only on the ground that it is the effect of Divine agency. It has nothing in it kindred to carnality, and hence could not have originated in a carnal heart. It can not be ascribed to conscience, for the same power that had kept conscience quiet before, could have continued to do so, with increased ease, afterward. The same law whose thunders had been long withstood before, could have had *in itself* no additional sanctions. Hence we are forced to believe, when we see such instances of conviction, that they are produced by the Holy Spirit. We can find no other sufficient cause. He reads the law in the ear of the sinner in such tones as cause him to quake with apprehension and alarm. He rends the veil that hangs between man's soul and the Deity, and shows it the terrors in which God the Father, as representing Justice, is enrobed. This is the *first* work, or step, in the process of the soul's salvation, and is necessarily preliminary to every other. This is the slaying power of the law; but what gives the law its soul-torturing energy is the hand of the Spirit, wielding it as a sword, and piercing with it the very heart.

We arrive at the next stage in the process. It is not given us to understand the law,—if there be one,—according to which the Spirit acts, in this matter. We know not at what degree of conviction the heart is brought into a proper state for a subsequent spiritual operation. Here is a mystery which we can not understand, and which it is not necessary for us to understand. But we know that it is always subsequent to, and never independent of, a greater or less degree of conviction of sin, that the soul is changed in the moral elements of its character, and in its affections. There is an absolute necessity that the one precede the other, if the understanding is to act in the case, on the same principles as are employed in other matters, and if a blind irresponsibleness is not to exist on the part of him whose heart is under divine influence. If an individual is pursuing a vicious course and is urged to reform, the first thing, and that indispensable to secure the end, is that he be satisfied that he is wrong; that he reflect upon the influence and tendency of his conduct, and that he seriously consider the consequences, resultant and

penal. It is then, and *then only*, that he will see a sufficient reason for his reforming. We could not expect him to take a step in the right direction, while the clamors of passion or appetite make him deaf to every other voice that speaks to him, and calls upon him to turn from his destructive course. In the deep agitation of worldly excitement, or of sensuality, the desire for a new moral position could not be awakened. So there is a similar necessity, if a change be wrought on the heart, that some mighty influence, adequate to overpower all those which spring from the world or from the carnal nature, and capable of elevating the soul to an eminence from which it can see other than temporal objects, should operate to cause it to contemplate its highest, noblest and most important relations, and to desire for itself a position of perfect harmony with God and with the universe. This influence is exerted by the Spirit of God: yet, inasmuch as it is exerted upon a conscious, intelligent, and accountable being, and in accordance with those principles that make him accountable, it must be done in such a manner as to employ the powers of his mind and heart in their natural and legitimate exercise. Otherwise a change might be produced while he was in a state of unconsciousness, or buried in the slumbers of the profoundest sleep. And it is the circumstance, that this work, while it is all of God, is wrought in entire harmony with man's intelligence and volition,—that the Spirit's forces are made to underlie, and surround, and completely control his whole nature, and that this Divine Being worketh in man to will and to do of his own good pleasure; it is this, we say, that is calculated to excite in the Christian's heart, the warmest gratitude, because it discovers a purpose, in connection with human salvation, that could remove the most formidable obstacles and secure man's eternal happiness in accordance with natural laws that would admit of no violation.

This preparatory work of conviction done, it is the province of the Spirit, likewise, to renew the heart, for there is nothing in conviction, however clear or pungent it may be, to produce a change, while the will is averse and unrelenting. That such renewal is effected by the Holy Spirit, is most distinctly taught us by revelation. How it is done we can not understand; but it is known to us, and judged of by us, in its results. We can not see the process by which it is brought about. No mental eye, however gifted with the power of introspection or analysis, ever saw the workings of the Spirit in regeneration. The precise point of transition from guilt to righteousness can not be discerned, nor can

the precise time when it occurred, inasmuch as the fact of such change of moral position may precede the consciousness of it. But how much, we can not tell. The change itself comes to be known by a sense of it. Sight where had been blindness, love where had been hatred, and obedience where had been the spirit of rebellion—these are the unmistakable signs of it. Such is the experience of the renewed soul, and the revolution that has been effected can be accounted for reasonably, on no other supposition than that that Spirit whose operations filled it with remorse and agony, has interposed to turn its sorrow into joy. There is no mere natural agent whose workings could produce this result. Conscience could not do it. Nor could the will, which is dependent, for its determinations, upon a depraved nature. Nor could regeneration originate in a corrupt heart. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?" We are forced to believe, that if the soul be born again, in the expressive language of inspiration, it is "born of God," and that this new formation is the Spirit's work. This is the removal of the obstacle that lies in the way of bringing the soul of man and the atonement of Christ together, so that a connection may be formed between them, which may secure faith on the one part, and the impartation of a divine life on the other. And when that obstacle is removed, there is a perfect union, involving, as some of its essential elements, a mutual confidence, affection and complacency. The cause that prevented this union before, was found only on one side, while, as we have seen already, the desire for it existed on the part of Christ, in an intensity equaled only by the love that prompted all his efforts to secure it.

But all is not yet done. Even after the soul has become conscious of a new life, a new love and a new purpose and aim, it finds most intimately associated with it still, weakened though it may be, a lingering carnal nature, and the influence of established habits. It is very far yet from being perfect, on account of its entangling alliances with corruption. Its powers are still feeble, and there is needed a constant supply of strength. Its native energies become soon exhausted. There would be danger that the spark of divine life that has been lodged in it would be extinguished, if the gentle breezes of the Spirit did not fan it. The soul has had, by regeneration, holiness placed within it as a leaven, and that must be made to penetrate every portion of the nature, until the whole is quickened by the process. This can be done only by the constant presence and active aid of the Holy Spirit. Sanctification is not an independent enterprise, in

which the Christian relies on his own resources of strength. The very fact of earnest prayer offered by him with reference to this end, shows that he does not feel himself competent to the task. With regeneration, only a beginning has been made in the spiritual life. That life needs a constant aliment from above to sustain it, and the necessity for foreign help is as strong, after it has begun to display its animation, as it was in the original production of it. And such is the Christian's experience. He has a deep conviction in his mind, that if the Spirit were to forsake him, and leave the work that has been done in regeneration to itself, like a partially constructed edifice exposed to the power of the storm and the tempest, it would soon be nothing but a ruin, though a ruin beautiful and magnificent. He is satisfied that in himself dwelleth no good thing,—that of himself he can perform no good act, and that if salvation has been designed for him by God, no part of it has been left for his inefficiency to work out. Thus surrendering up his powers to obey the high behests of the Sanctifier, he feels that no credit is due to himself, because the energy, the all, is of God. If he do anything himself, in any respect, it is only working out what God works within, the efficiency of which, of course, is found in its connection with him from whom it all proceeds.

Sanctification is completed at death. We judge so, because we never saw any one in whom we believed it to be finished in this life, nor do we read in the Bible that the most approved characters there brought to view, ever laid any claim to this attainment. We are aware that great pretensions have been made by men in regard to a perfect holiness; but events have often, if not generally, shown, that where there was the most of pretension, there was the least of the reality. Indeed, evidence against the idea of complete sanctification in this life is, unfortunately, too abundant. Whatever may be true in the abstract, as to the *duty* of being perfectly holy, there is reason to believe, judging from the past, that this state is secured only when the soul, emancipated from the slavery in which it has been held by a carnal nature, and removed from the strange power of evil influences, finds itself transported to a world where its capacities are no longer impeded, in their action, by indwelling corruption, and its spiritual senses no more beguiled by the mysterious fascinations of sin! When the point of transition from this to another state is reached, then the work of the Spirit, so far as it regards the salvation of the soul, is done. But previously, that work had been in a process of accomplishment, and its advancement was more or less rapid. And during the whole period in which the work of sanctification is

going on, the Spirit is performing the part of a comforter. Indeed, sanctification, as a process, is calculated, in the highest degree, to produce in the heart of the believer, a joy, and peace, and happiness, such as can be paralleled nowhere else. But, moreover, while comfort springs from this source, it is the positive product of the Holy Spirit, who adapts his workings to the ever changing necessities and demands of Christians. In the case of Christ's personal followers, he could and did afford them a substitute for the Saviour's presence, so that their loss, however great and seemingly insupportable it might be, in the anticipation, was entirely made up to them, and they were actually benefited by the change. And there can be no trial, strait or difficulty of any kind, the natural tendency of which may be to distress the soul, and almost cause it to despair, which can not be neutralized in its influence, or converted into the real substance, or a means of good. Such are our views of the Spirit as a Comforter. The office which this title would seem to indicate, we would regard as a secondary one, if it be a distinct office at all. We would rather consider his being a Comforter, as a consequence of his other operations, in performing the great work of preparing men for, and conducting them to heaven, and hence as incidental to the main purpose of his mission. And the fact that the Comforter promised by Christ, was to perform the work of conviction, does not appear to us to warrant the idea that the comfort he was to bring was found *in* conviction,—a work which, in itself considered, is painful rather than otherwise, although, like medicine, it is an indispensable preliminary to the enjoyment of perfect moral health, and a part of the curing process.

Such, as it seems to us, is the work of the Holy Spirit, considered in connection with the individual. He forms, preserves, and perfects an alliance between a perverse heart and Jesus Christ; an alliance in which his agency is employed until both parties are made personally to share the same heaven. When they are together there, and the saved party is out of the reach of temptation, and is freed from all connection with a sinful nature, then the work of the Spirit in regard to the soul is done.

But while the Holy Spirit has such a work as we have attempted to indicate, in reference to the individual member of Christ's spiritual church, we regard him as also having a general work to perform in respect to the church *as such*. Christ is very properly considered as the Head of the Church, and in this capacity he is her prophet, teaching her—her legislator, making her laws—and her sovereign, ruling over her. But

he is not personally present in his church. He now occupies another position, which he can not abandon. He left his disciples in order that he might go and occupy it. He has not, however, left the church without a high spiritual administration, concentrated in one person, by whom his instructions can be illustrated and enforced, his laws executed, (we mean those laws which belong to the internal, rather than the outward economy of the church,) and his authority vindicated. In this respect, as well as in others, the Holy Spirit was the substitute for the Saviour, as it repeats a personal residence on earth. He was not only to bring men into the church, and guide and protect, and assist them there, but to supervise the church, dwell in, and even overshadow her with his presence. The promise given to the disciples that he would be sent is the authority we have for supposing that he is with the church, instead of Christ himself, and that he is to perform a work for her which Christ himself even, could not do, while having the human person, and the consequent limitation of his presence which characterized him during his residence in this world.

The fulfillment of the promise in relation to the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, when, so to speak, he formally came and was inaugurated in his new position, was a remarkable testimony to his divine authority. As Christ himself had come into the world, accompanied by supernatural events, and had wrought miracles to convince men of the truth of his declarations respecting his mission, so was it with the Holy Spirit. The Saviour, previous to his ascension, had told his disciples to repair to Jerusalem, and to tarry there until they had received power from on high. They did so. The agent who imparted the expected power was the substitute for their ascended Lord, for thus they interpreted the promise made to them. They were disposed to put themselves under the guidance of that substitute without any reserve. Having come in so remarkable a manner, and having taken up his abode in the church, he assumed at once the direction of all her affairs. He influenced individual minds, and controlled all their movements. He inspired them with correct apprehensions of truth, concerning which their former views had been indistinct. He sent them wherever they went. They acted confessedly under his direction, the same as if they had heard the voice of their great Master himself. Indeed, they *did* hear his voice through his infallible agent or representative. Much of the language employed in the Acts of the Apostles, exhibits the Spirit as directly exerting his influence, or giving his orders in reference to the

particular mission of men called to the work of the ministry. For example, he told the disciples to separate Barnabas and Saul for the work to which he had called them, and we are informed that they were sent forth by him.* Were it necessary, many other and similar instances could be cited, to show how direct was his agency in connection with the church, in primitive times. Although those were days in which men were under the influence of his inspiration, so that their instructions might be entirely free from any admixture of error, yet, as he did then, so does he now, have such a general control of the church and her movements, as we would naturally suppose Christ to have, if he were in person at the head of her affairs. Indeed, this is virtually acknowledged, in the case of every individual church formed, every minister ordained, and every great enterprise in which Christians engage. The church's only head *on earth*, is the Holy Spirit, the pretensions of Rome to the contrary notwithstanding, and *he* is so in only a representative, and not an absolute sense. Hence, he has a work other than a personal one with men—a *general* work that contemplates the whole church.

In illustration of this view, we would remark, that if at any time, God designs to enlarge the borders of the church, to furnish her new fields for the action of her energies, in an aggressive form, and to secure her additional conquests, the Spirit goes in advance, opening effectual doors, removing obstacles, subduing opposition, and, in general terms, prepares the way. He inclines the heart of some one or more, and perhaps those of whole masses of the people, in the right direction. Such was emphatically the case in connection with the great reformation of the sixteenth century. The same thing is seen to be true in relation to modern missions. The Spirit commenced a glorious movement in the heart of William Carey, the influence of which has already been incalculable, and is designed to be immensely augmented. We observe a similar fact in the history of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and in that of the Baptist Missionary Union, both of which efficient benevolent organizations can trace their origin to the same cause. The influences exerted on the minds of those young men at Andover, who burned to go forth to the heathen world; the interest in the same great work felt by the church at the same time, which enabled them to go forth; and the willingness of the heathen to receive the ambassadors of Christ: all these circumstances occurring almost simultaneously, or at least, as the Provi-

dence of God called for them, show us as clearly as can be shown, that the Spirit of God began this glorious enterprise. The same preparatory process is often witnessed in connection with the formation of individual churches, and revivals of religion. And when this preliminary work is done, and all is ready, according to the sovereign purpose of God, the Spirit moves the church forward, and at the same time goes with her. From the day of Pentecost, when he was given to animate the form which had just been created, viz., the church, to the present day, he has led and remained in her. And by the church we mean, not proud and soulless hierarchies, nor even simpler so-called Christian organizations, retaining the doctrines of Christianity without the power—all of which are putrid corpses; but we mean the company of the true disciples of Jesus Christ, whether few or many, whether sitting beneath their own vine and fig-tree, or driven by the intolerance of the spirit of persecution to the glens and caves and fastnesses of mountains. We mean those, in whatever age of the Christian era, and in whatever country, who have received the doctrine of justification by faith alone, who have recognized Jesus Christ as their sole Saviour, and who, relying on his merits, have lived lives of obedience to his requirements. This body, whether distinctly marked out, and accurately enumerated by man or not—whether mingling with the busy throng of the earth's population, or forming a community by itself—this body, we say, has always been the dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit. Though multitudes of those who have borne the Christian name have been corrupt, and though at times, the number of true worshipers may have been small, there have always been those who have enthroned Christ in their hearts, and have served him with simplicity, confidence and affection. The true church has been perpetuated from the day of her formation to the present, and is as immortal as her founder; but forms, in which she has appeared visibly to men, have in many cases been abandoned of her, because in them spirituality became extinct, and from them the Holy Spirit took his departure. But the church, in the true and comprehensive sense, has had the Spirit ever animating her, both in her members as individuals, and in that mysterious unity which constitutes herself. And with her he will remain until the end of time, preserving the ardor of her love, firing her zeal, giving success to her efforts, and adding to her numbers, until the predictions which have been uttered touching her ultimate triumphs, have all been fulfilled.

If the Spirit dwells in, and controls the church, we may say, likewise, that he goes with or accompanies the Gospel,

or the truth. In a certain sense, the Gospel is the parent of the Church. It is, at all events, the instrument which the Spirit now employs in her preservation, as it was the instrument employed in her original creation. Hence he must be most intimately associated with the truth. Not in such a sense as would imply his existing *in* the truth—but as being present with that truth and giving it a vital efficiency whenever it pleases him. We can conceive of his loving the truth objectively considered as well as the Church, and of his being most deeply interested in its preservation. Hence we would regard him as the inseparable companion of the Gospel. Hand in hand they went, soon after the formation of the Church, from Jerusalem, where, so to speak, the Gospel had its birth, and the Spirit was first given, to every part of the Holy Land, to Asia Minor, to Greece, to Rome, and indeed, wherever there was a tongue to tell the wondrous story of a crucified and risen Saviour. They who spread the tidings found a power attending their words even superior to the strange might of their glowing eloquence. And miracles of grace were wrought in consequence. The same has been true ever since. Did the Gospel work its way into the nations of western Europe, into Spain and France and Britain? Did it, centuries after, cross the broad Atlantic, and visit these then wild and inhospitable shores? The Spirit went with it, and could the truth be known to us, as the judgment will reveal it, we should doubtless see that many were made to live by his quickening energy. Whether the Gospel be enstamped on the printed page, and scattered, like the leaves of autumn, to the four winds, or whether it be preached by accomplished learning and eloquence, in all its symmetry and beauty, or whether its sublime announcements are uttered forth, in a broken manner, by the stammering tongue of ignorance and imbecility, the Spirit is evermore with it. Though it lie buried up in the rubbish of human inventions and traditions, so that but the faintest glimpses of it can be discovered, and that too, only occasionally, the Spirit is with it there. We would fain believe, that amid all the corruptions and ceremonies and senseless mummeries of the Romish Church, the saving power of the Spirit can be exerted, because the great vital truths of the Gospel are unquestionably there, though hidden by the glare and glitter of outward observances. It was the truth that Luther accidentally, or rather providentially, found in the convent of Erfurth, while perusing the pages of a Bible that had long lain covered with dust on a shelf of the library, that the

Spirit directed and attended to his heart. The Spirit can, and for aught we know, may, work in the Vatican itself, if the Gospel be there. Indeed, there may have been many conquests to Christ made in this very way, unknown to men, perhaps, but recorded in the book of God, and destined, in the great day of revelations, to be shown to the universe. It is only on the supposition involved in such a view, that we can hope to meet, in the skies, and there celebrate with them the mysteries of redeeming love, a Thomas à Kempis, a Fenelon, and others of kindred character, who have seemed to evince the power of the Gospel, even amid papal abominations. The Gospel being designed for man's salvation, and inefficient without the Spirit to apply it to the heart, we must suppose that he goes with it, on its sublime mission, and that he may employ it more frequently than is imagined for the accomplishment of good.

What has been said is calculated, we think, to magnify the importance of the Holy Spirit's work in connection with the individual Christian, the Church and the Gospel. We are of the opinion that this is demanded at the present time. At the risk of lengthening somewhat this paper, which we had designed to confine within narrower limits, we will offer a few observations with reference to this point. Assuming, as we who call ourselves orthodox do, that the several persons of the Trinity are, notwithstanding their diversity, mutually equal, we can see no reason why they should not receive an equal honor. If Christ required that "all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father," the same can be said in reference to the Spirit. The honor of all these persons should be equal and the same. Else we must abandon our ideas as to their unity. For a contrary course practically places the Spirit in a subordinate position, and involves a denial of his supreme divinity. It may be that Christians, in their prayers, fix their minds too exclusively on God the Father, and feel that the Son and the Spirit are inferior in nature and position. Our idea is, that they should, in their esteem, raise the Spirit, as well as the Son, to the dignity and glory which they associate with Deity, and that, while they honor the Father as the Omnipotent Sovereign, and the Son as the Author of Salvation, they should honor the Spirit as one who has formed them anew, and made them Kings and Priests unto God. A personal Spirit, by rendering definite their conceptions of him as the giver of all good, will more deeply enlist their feelings. For our own part, when we sing, as is sometimes the case,

"Come Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,
With all thy quickening powers," &c.,

there is, to our minds, a deeper solemnity, and a stronger sense of contact with spiritual and eternal things than in an address to the Father. And for this reason. When we think of God the Father, we are apt to think of him as on his throne in the heavens, surrounded by his celestial court and retinue; but when we think of the Spirit, he seems around us, near us, and in us. We are filled with awe by the consciousness of such a presence. We open our heart to receive him and we are blessed.

Among Christians, there should be cultivated more constantly and assiduously, the feeling of dependence upon this Divine Agent. A failure in adequately honoring the Spirit, is calculated to weaken a sense of dependence upon him. There are symptoms of this truth apparent at the present time. The Church leans too lightly against the eternal throne. Hence there has sprung into existence, and it is rapidly increasing, a formalism that measurably paralyzes her energy. She relies too much on external appliances, and not enough on the Spirit of God, forgetting the fact that it is not a charmed eloquence that saves the soul, or that builds up her walls. The same is the case with her ministry, although there would seem to be so much in their position and experience to keep them right on this subject. For they, often, when they gird themselves to their work with strong desires to do good, are constrained to exclaim with the Prophet, "Lord, who hath believed our report?" Their experience testifies to the fact that gigantic powers, in their noblest, mightiest efforts, are not unfrequently left without any perceptible record of their effects on the heart, while the broken, unstudied lisps of a babe in knowledge, are made to do incalculable execution. Hence can be seen the importance of a dependence upon, and the enjoyment of the largest measures of, the Spirit's aid. As prompting to activity, there is no other agency so powerful. If the influence of the Spirit be in the heart, it will be an impulse immeasurably more effectual than the flagellations of conscience, or the more constant movings of mere principle. It will beget a performance of duty from the *love* of duty, and thus will prove a quenchless fire in the soul, and nerves and sinews in the arm.

ART. VII.—THE PREACHING OF ECCLESIASTES.

THE accompanying article purports to be a condensed summary of the book of Ecclesiastes. Its conception is subjective. The reader must therefore conceive of himself as transported backward over the space of about three thousand years, and occupying the position of an auditor of a sermon from the old Hebrew Preacher Coheleth. He is a man full of years, of wealth, of knowledge and of honors. As a Preacher he is in some respects peculiar to himself. He derives his theme, not like the prophets from an independent, divine inspiration, nor like Christ from Divinity itself, nor like the apostles from divine instruction, nor yet like the preachers of to-day from divine revelation, but like himself from a divinely inspired review of his own vast experience. He has summed up all there is of human life as an isolated thing; extracted from it its essence, "vanity of vanities;" and this is his text. You may see him just at the threshold of eternity. Before he treads it he turns about to take his last look of this mortal existence and speak his final farewell to all the living. The nothingness of all he has seen and known now grieves his heart. Hence he begins and ends with "all is vanity," drops his advice and departs from sight. Never was there testimony of greater worth. He had plunged into all the deep resources of earthly happiness, had been borne by them to the farthest shore of human life. And now as you see his hoary head just rising above the waves to sink and rise no more, you hear from his lips the echo bounding from side to side across the troubled sea, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

It is peculiar to Coheleth that he does not "preach the *gospel*," but simply its stern necessity; the vanity of all earthly good without it. But let us not on this account lament, as some have done, for otherwise even Christ and his followers had preached in vain. Nor does he, as others still have thought, fix upon life a dread fatality, and urge to consume it as best we may. But while we listen to his voice, it must be remembered that they are the tremulous tones of an old and dying man, who had found the savor of life to be quite a different thing from what his ardent youth conceived. His words, therefore, must often be heard, not as his firm and final belief of truth, but as the outbursts of a disappointed and stricken heart, attended with entreaty to

make the best of life, but not in like manner as he had done. If he be heard in any other way than this, his words will be unfairly judged. The voyage of life had been to him across a boisterous sea, and now, just as he is about to remove his foot from his frail bark and plant it upon the solid ground of eternity, he desires to take a lingering look of the scene through which he has passed. But as if to forbid this his last indulgence, the angry and turbid waters come dashing up to the old man and beat him roughly against the shore. From this condition no wonder he should exclaim to those who are still tossing upon the billows of life, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit, and there is no pleasure under the sun." Conceive of him as uttering from the troublous brink of both time and eternity his last words to all the living, and you will not wonder that riches and honors, and even human wisdom, he pronounces to be as vain as bubbles upon the foamy sea.

Nor can you conceive, as some are inclined to do, that from such a position, with so near a view of eternal realities and so thorough an experience of earthly vanities, he should advise those who might come after him, to gluttonness, drunkenness and reveling. In listening to such passages as seem to bear this aspect, the hearer must be careful that he listens from a just position. He must take his stand upon the finale, "the conclusion of the whole matter," keeping in mind also the subjective condition of the Preacher—and then his own feelings will be such as effectually to preserve him from any unwholesome impressions. Pervaded constantly with his fixed opinion found in his last injunction respecting "the whole matter," namely, "Fear God and keep his commandments," when you hear him advising to "eat and to drink and to enjoy the good of one's labor," it must be remembered that he also adds with emphasis, "for it is the gift of God," and is to be received with the gratitude which as such it deserves. When he exhorts the young man to make the best of life and cheerfully to enjoy it, he adds also the salutary caution, "but do it knowing that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." Thus the enjoyment he urges is not sensual but religious, even in the use of earthly good. Viewed in this light, what he otherwise calls vanities become sources of real happiness.

In the article which follows, the attempt is made to mirror forth so far as is possible, the Style, the Spirit, and the Argument of the Preacher. It does not seek to be an imitation of these, but these themselves. It is an imperfect attempt to make Coheleth himself live again and speak to us

as he did to them of old. The object is to gratify the not unlawful curiosity to hear in our day a preacher of three thousand years ago. To do this it was necessary to exhume the old man from his long burial in Hebrew customs and Hebrew lore, and make him live in modern customs and speak in Saxon tongue. The truthfulness with which this is done must be adjudged by those who shall resolve the present form into the original elements from which it sprung. And they, too, who would know the true spirit of the Preacher himself, must do more than look upon this imperfect reflection of him; they must even like him undergo a crucifixion of spirit to the world not often felt.

In disinterring Coheleth from his sleep of ages, and making him speak to modern ears, one feature of his preaching is of necessity removed. It is that of his mode of thought. This is the most difficult part of all the transmutation. It is not easy for him to speak in our tongue and at the same time retain his own characteristics of style. But for him to *think* as we think—for his mind, accustomed to move at pleasure without regard to method and order, to be subjected to the strait-jacket of modern schools—is almost death to the old man himself. The attempt, however, has been made more for our benefit than his convenience. The vanities of the world of which he speaks at random, dashing now at one, then at a second, now at the first again and then at a third, constantly interrupting every course of thought upon which he happens to enter, without any possible motive of which we can conceive—these have been sought out from their confusion and arranged under the three heads of Pleasures, Riches, Wisdom, so that the Preacher might seem to preach right on. The *encouraging* feature of his discourse too, arising from a contemplation of the right use of the things of this world, which he has intermingled here and there with his prevailing sadness, has been sought out, compacted and reserved to the close.

It may well be said that this discourse of Coheleth's is the saddest one with which we have been favored from inspired lips. 'Tis true it contains an element which preserves from despair. The hinge upon which it turns is this: that apart from God, all below the sun is vanity, but in the light of his countenance all is joy and gladness. The latter is that which the old man does indeed admit and sometimes even enforce; but the former is the great truth which had been taught him by a long and hard experience, and hence runs through every fibre of his soul, and gives a mournful tone to every word that falls from his lips. Notwithstanding,

it is in beautiful harmony with the other sacred writings in the midst of which it finds a place. It occupies what would otherwise be a chasm between the law and the gospel. It is the darkness which precedes the dawn of gospel day. It is the transition ground upon which the law leaves, and the gospel finds the sinner; the dark valley through which he passes from justification by the deeds of the law to the faith of the gospel. It is a picture of what would have been man's extremity but for the new dispensation in Christ. It proves the value and the need of the gospel, by exhibiting the nothingness and vanity of all besides. Let us then listen to

The words of Coheleth, the son of David, king of Jerusalem.

Vanity of vanities, vanity of vanities! all is vanity.

This is the text. You will find it not yet written in revelation, but engraven by the iron hand of experience, upon the time-hardened brow of your preacher. It belongs not to the works of God, but to the doings of mortal man. For what profit or happiness hath a man in all his labor which he taketh under the sun! What can he, a fragile worm, work out from nature's changeless laws and say, See, this is new and good! What is to-day is that which was of old, to generations dead and long forgotten. And that which shall be in future times, shall be again in times beyond to generations still unborn. I your preacher have explored the schemes of worldly good. Lo, I did come by labor to great estate. I was made king in Jerusalem; did climb to the upmost pinnacle of earthly greatness, and from my lofty height could look off and see all the works that men do under the sun; and behold all is vanity and useless toil. *God* hath fixed the course of things. *He* hath ordered generations and times to come and go; and what is the work of mortal man for or against the fiat of the living God?

Till now my heart had been an aching, yawning void. To fill it up with earthly good was hence my firm resolve. So I gave myself to Pleasure. I determined by the most prudent and skillful trial to prove its utmost virtue to produce happiness. Therefore with merry wine to heighten all, I sought out large speculations; built houses; had gardens and all sorts of trees in them; pleasure grounds and pools of water; had servants and handmaids; procured for me singers to fill the ear with pleasant sounds; beautiful sights to gratify the eye, and a wife and wives to gladden the heart.

Then when I had nought to do but to rejoice and be glad, I looked on all the works I had done, and behold my sports did mock at me; laughter did play the fool; and mirth was turned to wretched madness. My heart sank like lead within me, and I declared all is vanity and vexation of spirit, and there is no pleasure under the sun.

Thus gluttoned, yea, all sickened with the vanity of pleasure, I bethought me that surely Riches are good for a man. So with strong and speedy step I trod the way to wealth. I made everything my hand could touch, my ear could hear, and my eye could see, my own. Then I bade my soul be fed. But no! she, starving, cried for something good, while strangers gathered round and ate their fill. Oh how did envy gnaw the heart of this poor rich man, as his eye gazed from underneath his anxious brow in all the weary night upon the sweetly sleeping face of the rich poor, in his humble bed! And how did this wasting soul hate those piles of glittering dust, when it remembered that so soon a sluggard or a fool might take them for his portion. O vanity of vanities, vanity of vanities!

But I stopped not here; my aching, sickened heart now swelled with desperate madness. Chagrined and sore at the nothingness and vanity of pleasures and riches, I dashed the cup from which I had quaffed them to the ground, and trampled their bitter dregs in the dust beneath my feet. And as my yet unsated raving heart drove me about among the loathsome remains of my sensual pursuits, now clutching at airy nothings as they danced before my eyes, and now sinking into the gaping earth with the load of grief that bore me down, my eye was suddenly turned and fixed. I gazed but trembled. Was it a spectre, a vanity? It could not be. It was not sense nor sordid wealth. It was Wisdom, human not divine, yet it was wisdom. And who shall say that wisdom is not good. To know and understand—this surely is like the soul. O my heart! on this thou must indeed be fed. Well thou mightest sicken and die on things of sense, of which this body, not thyself, could eat. At this my heart leaped up for joy. To seek out, to search and know all that is done below the skies—this must be solid good. Now, I the preacher did try this. I did stretch every fibre of my soul to its utmost limit, and did take in more wisdom than all they who were before me in Jerusalem. Yea, my heart had great experience of wisdom and knowledge. And when I had thought by my last and most painful effort to have meted out the ways and works of God, and as my soul seemed to have just stepped upon the threshold of

unfading good, oh how did utter foolishness overwhelm the heart of this poor wise man, as there began to open upon me above, around, below, visions of a dismal, boundless unknown! *Myself* unknown; unknown the soil on which I tread; the air, the light, all that can be known, unknown, and this surrounded still by countless spheres unknown! In agony I cried, O wisdom, what art thou? My heart replied: O emptiness, vanity and nothing; teaching nothing save it be the sad and oft repeated story of man's wicked rebellion against his righteous Maker; affording no advantage unless it be to shun a footfall, or perchance to save a city, then be despised and forgotten. Such is the vanity and such the destiny of human wisdom. Yea, I have seen in this life fools on thrones, and wise men in hovels. I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking like servants in the dust. The wise and the foolish, and their works, are in the hand of God. Both alike must share their appointed lot, nor can the one more than the other determine his way. There is nothing certain to a man of all his portion under the sun. The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor honor to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all. And in death, too, how fareth the wise man? In all respects as the fool. Both alike die and are forgotten. Neither the one nor the other knoweth or can alter his time. As the fish is caught in the net, and the bird in the snare, so the bands of death come suddenly upon man. Yea, even as dieth the beast so dieth he; and in the sadness of my heart, I declared there is no preëminence of the one above the other. For who knoweth that there is not the same destiny, as to the body so to the spirit of the man and the beast? O vanity of vanities! Pleasures, riches, wisdom—all is vanity.

This is the sum of the happiness in things that are done below the skies; the rest a man can find without his God. A godless man in a godless world! O vanity of vanities! I have seen it, and I do know by saddest trial, that there is nothing good in this life apart from Him who gave it. There is nothing good but to do good. Oh turn then my soul from thy vain pursuit. *God* hath made everything, and everything beautiful and good in its proper use. Destroy not then his goodness by thine own perverseness; but enjoy what thou mayest eat and drink, and rejoice in thy labor, for it is the gift of God. Nothing is vain if *He* hath made it. Blast not then, with thy God-forgetting breath, everything around thee with mourning and sadness. Pall not the earth in sepulchral gloom by forgetting that an unseen hand hath

fixed its seal upon all below the sun. But discern thou the work of *God*. Behold the day, the night, the sun, the moon, the stars, which He hath made. Enough thou mayest discern. Oh then be joyful and grateful in what thou dost possess; I say again, it is the gift of God. Plunge not into those miry depths of worldliness through which I have waded, and where no God is seen; but remember thy Creator. Yea, O *young* man, look upon me and be thou warned; upon me, all stricken and sore by the vain pursuit of good in earthly things. Oh stay not like me until the tremblings of old age shall have come upon thee, but now in the days of thy youth remember thy Creator. Then mayest thou live joyfully all the days of thy vanity, until the dust shall return to the earth and the Spirit unto God who gave it.

And now ye *old* men and young, once more be admonished by the words of your preacher. What has been spoken was sought out with labor and care. Compel me not to make sermons without end, for this is hard study and a weariness to the flesh. But be admonished by *this*, for these I do know are words of truth. Hear now, therefore, the conclusion of the whole matter and forget it never. Vanity of vanities, vanity of vanities, is written upon all the works a man can do without his God. Hence—my long and hard experience doth vouch it, and the unfolded secrets of the judgment shall declare it—there is nothing good to all the living but to fear God and keep his commandments; for this is the duty of every man.

ART. VIII.—JACOB BEHMEN.

The Works of Jacob Behmen, the Teutonic Theosopher. Containing, I. The Threefold Life of Man; II. The Answers to Forty Questions concerning the Soul; III. The Treatise of the Incarnation, in Three Parts; IV. The Clavis, or an Explanation of some Principal Points and Expressions in his Writings. With Figures illustrating his Principles, left by the Rev. WILLIAM LAW, M. A. 4 vols. quarto. London: Printed for Joseph Richardson, in Pater-noster Row. 1763.

SIR WALTER SCOTT was accustomed now and then, when other engagements would admit of it, to make what he called a *raid* into the country, which was nothing more nor less

than a free ramble among the fields and villages of his neighborhood, for the purpose of invigorating his spirit, and picking up what information he could respecting nature and man. Books, monuments, and inscriptions also, he sought with avidity far and near, and especially those of an ancient and curious character. It was his good fortune occasionally to find in this department, something rich and rare, which perhaps he had for years sought in vain. In a somewhat similar spirit, a few years ago, we made a tour of exploration among old bookstores and bookstands, in search of information respecting that rare cobbler and mystical philosopher, or rather theosopher, as the Rev. William Law aptly termed him, Jacob Behmen, more properly Böhme or Behme. At first our search was rather unpromising; here and there we found a book which had some reference to Behmen, containing some meagre facts respecting his life and works, and then a slight volume, consisting of abridged and greatly mutilated portions of his practical writings. We had previously searched one of the largest provincial libraries in the country, and explored the volumes in a well selected library in one of our colleges, for information respecting his character and life, but with a very slender result. We had read all the articles pertaining to this singular man in the most accessible Encyclopedias and Biographical Dictionaries, including the Americana, the Britannica, the Penny and London Cyclopedias, Bayle's Dictionary, &c., but found, to our regret, that they had pretty much copied the same brief biography, from each other, or from some common source. We began, therefore, to despair of finding anything short of Germany, to satisfy our curiosity, when in a large, old New York bookstore, we lighted upon the identical edition of his works, translated by the devout, learned and well-known Rev. William Law, the author of the celebrated "Call to the Unconverted," one of the most vigorous and pungent books in the English language. Then we felt that our *raid* among the books had proved successful; and we joyfully conveyed our huge burden of theosophic literature to Adams & Co's Express, to be transported with all safety to our distant home.

In due time, quietly seated in our sanctum, we began to devour one of the thick tomes of some thousand pages; and for a few days kept up the enthusiasm, but which, we honestly confess, gradually evaporated. For the moment that our curiosity was satisfied, and the system of Behmen was ascertained in its "ground principles," as he would call them, we merely dipt into his works here and there, where "gold"

might be found in its crude state, amid the accumulations of his fertile but uncultivated genius. One who has patience, however, as well as sympathy with mystical speculations, will find his reward in exploring this tangled wilderness, for ever and anon, he will come to some pellucid stream, or fertile glade, where he may rest and refresh his spirit, wearied with the din and show of this outward world.

This edition of the works of Behmen must have been a labor of love on the part of Law. Their spirits must have been congenial; their mode of thinking and feeling much alike. Both must have possessed an insatiable desire to transcend the visible diurnal sphere and explore the inner secrets of nature and of God. Of imagination all compact, and of undoubting faith, not only in God, but in themselves as a part, or a manifestation of God, as the microcosm of the universe, and the very image or echo of the Divinity, they must have felt equally at home amid the profoundest mysteries. Both turned away with secret or avowed contempt from the popular religion and the popular beliefs, and found God's peace, as Fenelon found it, in the inmost shrine of their own regenerate spirits. To them God was "all and in all," in the most absolute and literal sense of the terms, and thence intimately present in their own bodies and souls. So that they sought him, not so much by sense, reason, or external effort, as by inward silence and listening. They saw the vision and heard the voice of God in the mystic chambers of their believing hearts. They saw him, indeed, in all external things, but not as external, or with the bodily senses. For the whole universe was open to their view, in its secret essences, which spring from God. Both revered the Bible as the infallible word of God, but like Origen, Swedenborg and George Fox, explained it by an inward sense or intuition. Mere history was to them an outward thing—the letter of the Bible symbolic and fragmentary, and thence only the gate to the inner temple of truth and beauty.

Whether Law fully adopted all the explanations of Behmen, we can not speak with entire certainty, but such is our inference, from various references in his own writings, and especially from the singular manner in which, by means of allegorical figures, he has attempted to illustrate Behmen's speculative or mystical ideas. These figures are a great curiosity; they are, for the time, remarkably well executed, and display nearly as much ingenuity in symbolizing the principles of the Teutonic theosopher, as the theosopher himself does in conceiving them. A few words in regard to this good man may therefore be permitted.

William Law was born at Kingcliffe in Northamptonshire, England, in 1686, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was distinguished for extensive and accurate scholarship, and became a fellow of his college. Having refused, on the accession of George I., to take the necessary oaths, he vacated his professorship, and left the university. He then performed the duties of curate in London, and of tutor to Edward Gibbon, father of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Mrs. Hester Gibbon, aunt of the historian, and Mrs. Elizabeth Hutchinson, who were of the same turn of mind with Law, formed a joint establishment, of which he became a member, at his native village of Kingcliffe, where he died in 1761. Here he gave himself to meditation and prayer, the writing of his books, and evangelical efforts for the benefit of souls. He became greatly enamored of the writings of Behmen, which he translated and edited, as already stated. His "Serious Call" was regarded both by Mr. Gibbon and Dr. Johnson, as "one of the most powerful works of devotion in the English language." It has been universally read and eminently useful. His Practical Treatise on Christianity, perhaps is less devout, but abounds with "satire, wit, spirit and knowledge of life." He abjures science as such, and all possibility of arriving at true knowledge, especially the knowledge of God, but by spiritual illumination and interior meditation. His views of life may be regarded like those of Behmen, as harsh and gloomy; his piety unfeigned, but a little fantastic and extravagant. Most obviously a man of God, he dwelt in silence and solitude within the sphere of mystic contemplation, hearing and seeing God, and finally departed in peace to join the general assembly and church of the first-born. His ingenuity, as already stated, as well as his speculative, cabalistic and mystical state of mind, are shown in the figures and explanations affixed to the second volume of Behmen's works, in respect to which we have the following characteristic notice, probably from the hand of Mr. Richardson, the publisher: "The Figures annexed to this Volume were left by the Reverend Mr. Law, and by him intended for Publication. They contain an ILLUSTRATION of the deep Principles of *Jacob Behmen*, in which the mysteries of *Nature* and *Grace* are unfolded. And as *He* and Mr. Law were raised up by God, and highly qualified as Instructors of Mankind in Divine Wisdom; so all who with them are Followers of Christ in Simplicity of Heart, who in the true Spirit of Prayer and Resignation to God, desire that his will may be done on Earth as it is in Heaven, and seek only God and the Salvation of their Souls

in Sincerity and Truth, will find in their Writings every Thing relating to their essential Happiness, and a Preservation from all Delusions. They contain their own best Defence. And all the Efforts of Human Wisdom, Wit and Learning to depreciate and to suppress them, however specious, can be but like sounding Brass, or a tinkling Cymbal."

John Pordage, who preceded Law, by several years, was the first English writer who, in systematic form, taught the doctrines of Behmen. He was a man of deep thought and extensive learning, and his works exerted considerable influence in creating the school of English mystics, of whom Law was one of the chief. Dr. Henry More taught principles nearly akin to those of Behmen and Pordage, and all of these writers, we presume, had some influence in the formation of Law's opinions. They all agreed in this, that it is only by spiritual insight that man can know himself or God, and that God is best known through man, who is an image of the universe, his body resembling all things natural, his spirit all things spiritual. This is the fundamental idea of Swedenborg, and runs through the speculations of the German mystico-pantheistical school. It appears somewhat in Schelling, Oken, and Goethe.

Cousin, in his history of speculative philosophy, pronounces Behmen "the most profound, and at the same time, the most unaffected," of all the mystics of the sixteenth century. In this opinion all competent judges will concur. Coleridge seems to have regarded him with affectionate veneration. He frankly acknowledges his personal obligations to "the illuminated cobbler." He is styled "the great *Teutonic* theosopher;" for he wrote on God, nature and man, in the old Teutonic, or common German tongue. With much in his works clearly visionary and absurd, and some things really false and pernicious, Behmen has much that is not only true, but grand and thrilling, with a surprising command of rude and inaccurate, but pithy and picturesque speech. He often reminds us of John Bunyan, in his power of conception, and vigorous word-painting. His abstractions, the most recondite imaginable, are always pictured in actual forms, often, indeed, grotesque and even ridiculous, like those of Dante's *Inferno*, but generally poetical and striking. That he was a pious man, none have doubted. Except in his violent denunciation of formalists and hypocrites, church authorities and sophistical philosophers, and in the persecutions which he occasionally suffered from the "powers of church and state," his life was serene and beautiful, closing like a triumphal

hymn. While critics and wordlings flippantly condemn his absurdities, few have attained his lofty piety and burning eloquence.

Jacob Behmen was born in a little village near Görlitz, in Upper Lusatia, in the year 1575, of poor but honest parents. He remained, it is said, till his tenth year, without any school instruction. But he had attended church, and frequently listened to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, whose divine truths sank into his youthful spirit. Most of the time, he was employed tending cattle, amid the quiet and beautiful solitudes of nature, which awoke his wonder and joy.

At school, he was finally taught to read the Bible, to spell and write a little; but this was sufficient to supply fuel to the flame of thought and feeling already kindled in his soul.

Subsequently, he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and this sedentary life served to strengthen his meditative habits. Some religious books of the times fell into his hands, which he read with avidity; but he could never be brought to take any part in polemical discussions. He found sufficient food for thought in the vast, mysterious spirit-world which opened upon his vision, and which thrilled his inner soul.

Marrying a wife, he settled down in Görlitz, to his humble craft, which he never forsook for anything higher or better; for while working with his hands, his mind was free of the universe; and in that deep interior sphere so filled with wonders, which he calls "the center and ground of being," the abyss of love," "the fountain of light," he revelled by night and day, with a strange ineffable joy, hearing and seeing things mysterious and divine. It was as if he had been introduced into a new world, transcending in beauty and glory, aught upon which mortal eye can gaze, where, wandering amid hills and valleys, deep forests and silent glades, the soul might solace herself forever with unutterable harmonies.

According to his own view, he had lived an outward and ordinary life till about his twenty-fifth year, when he was suddenly rapt into what he calls "a sacred Sabbatic silence," a silence deeper than that of a Sabbath summer noon, which lasted seven days, where transcending all the forms, colors and accidents of external nature, he gained an intuitive vision of God, as the Essence of all essences, the Being of all beings, the Life of all lives, beholding by an inward light, the transcendent beauty and glory of that infinite and eternal Being, who is "above all, through all, and in all."

Subsequently, he had a second and a third vision of a similar kind, in which surrounded by "celestial irradiations, brighter than ten thousand suns," he beheld the Spirit of God penetrated into the absolute nature of things, and saw

the divine procession, in the creation of the universe, after which going out into the fields, amid the trees and flowers, covered with a mystic light, he read all their secrets and symbols, in the radiance of eternal truth.

He had become acquainted somewhat with the chemistry, and perhaps astrology of the times; some say with the wild and mystic speculations of the old physician and philosopher Paracelsus. It is quite evident from some of his distinctions, and many of his expressions, particularly those of a technical character, that he was no stranger to the Cabala of the Jewish doctors and speculatists, partly adopted by the mystics of that age, and particularly the secret sect of the Rosicrucians, or the devotees of the Rosy Cross. It is possible, too, that through the same mystics, Behmen, perhaps unconsciously to himself, had imbibed some of the oriental and Platonic mysticism, which had descended from Plato to Philo, and from Philo to the Christian philosophers of Alexandria, Pantæus, Clement, Origen and others, and thence to the Cardinal Nicolas, sometimes called improperly, De Casa, who reproduced the Pythagorean part of Neo-Platonism, or the Alexandrian philosophy, Ficino and the two Picos of Mirandola, in Italy, from whence the celebrated Reuchlin imported into Germany a decided taste for Platonic and Cabalistic mysticism. Reuchlin wrote a treatise on the *Cabalistic Art*, and another, *De Verbo Mirifico*, or the *Wonderful Word*, an expression which frequently occurs in the writings of Behmen. Agrippa, of Nettesheim, who was born at Cologne in 1486, was a friend of Reuchlin, and commented upon his work *De Mirifico Verbo*, at the University of Dole, at that time a celebrated institution. He also wrote a work on the *Occult or Secret Philosophy*, and in order to commend the superior claims of his mystical views, made a vigorous attack on all other kinds of knowledge, in a work, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*. He was followed by Paracelsus, who was born in Switzerland in 1493, but spent portions of his life in Germany, as a chemist and ingenious physician. He travelled much in Italy and Germany, and occupied the first public professorship of chemistry in Basle. The doctrine of Paracelsus is allegorical and enigmatical; but he held to three principles, just as Jacob Behmen did, the union of which forms the *Archæum Magnum*, with which he explains the whole of nature. Weigel, a Lutheran minister, born in Misnia in 1533, followed Paracelsus in his theurgical tendency by uniting to it the mystical views of Reuchlin and Tauler, both Germans, and of Gerson, of Paris, regarded by some as the author of "The Imitation of Christ," who,

though a Frenchman, spent the latter part of his life in Germany, engaged in mystical contemplation, and the preparation of pious practical works. Leibnitz praises Weigel for his divine and spiritual tendencies, though he intimates that he was almost too spiritual. The writings of these men, it is well known, produced a great impression upon the German mind, and indeed, caused that peculiar revolution of thought and feeling in that country, which prepared the way for the Reformation of Luther. Luther himself greatly admired the writings of the more pious mystics, and this circumstance, combined with others, gave them a wide circulation throughout Germany. That they reached the solitary thinker of Görlitz, and mingled with his own mystical and meditative tendencies, can admit of little doubt, as they reappear in every part of his writings which are theurgic and cabalistic, mystical and philosophical, by turns. After all, his favorite book, his "book of books," as he called it, was the Bible, which he revered and loved as an authentic revelation of the Divine Will. Mingling the language of inspiration with the language of chemistry, astrology and philosophy, he gave his visions and experiences to the world in a book, entitled *Aurora*, or *The Sunrise*. It made quite a sensation, particularly in Görlitz. Some wondered, others smiled, and others took alarm. Behmen was accused of heresy, and being summoned before the Senate, was reprimanded, though not with great severity. Some, indeed, affirm that he was acquitted, though enjoined as a layman to keep silence for the future.

Urged on all sides to continue writing, Behmen retired more and more from the world, and kept silence for seven years. He then wrote again on the same high and mysterious subjects, and volume after volume flowed in quick succession from his pen. His published works fill four huge quarto volumes of six to ten hundred pages each. They consist of thirty-two pieces; some of them long and elaborate, others slight and brief. Some of these are speculative and transcendental, others practical. They contain, of course, many things enigmatical, mistaken and even preposterous; for Behmen wrote down everything he saw, heard, felt, or imagined, in his unearthly reveries or trances, regarding the whole as the inspiration of the Almighty.

Though several times prosecuted, he was honorably acquitted, and never deserted either the word of God, or the Lutheran Church, in whose communion he died. He claimed, however, to be in immediate communication with the

Almighty, and with all the secrets of the universe, internal and external.

It is impossible thoroughly to understand his writings. The language is often obscure and inadequate, and the ideas transcendent and fantastic. Strange hieroglyphical figures are affixed to his works, and an air of mystery pervades the whole. Indeed, the author himself declares in his *Aurora*, that the mysteries of the book are not comprehensible by flesh and blood, and "can be understood only by those who are divinely illuminated.

So far as we can form an idea of his system, he recognizes One Supreme all-pervading Deity, who creating all essences and spirits, by successive emanations from himself, is present in the whole, and is thence visible in matter as well as in mind. He here finds the doctrine of the Trinity, or the Trinal manifestation of the Divinity in all the beings and forms of the universe. Evil he finds in separation and distance from God; so that in the remote abysses of the starry heavens, he places the region of darkness, where Satan sways his sceptre. The whole universe is guided and governed by spirits—some dark, others luminous, some good, others bad, yet all under the control of the Deity. The stars are vital and conscious—in fact spiritual as well as material beings. Hence their generative power, their malign or gracious influence. Mars, for example, which according to Behmen, stands above the sun, is "poison and anger, and betokens the fierceness of the fire"—the planet Saturn "stands above Jupiter and makes the brainpan,"—Jupiter himself gives the soul or spirit "which dwells in the brainpan as its house." Venus produces love. Mercury, which is under Venus, is the source of pleasant talk; while the moon rounds the body, gives it what the mystic calls "corporeity," &c. Man is an epitome of the universe; he hath all things in himself. "Consider man," says Behmen, "in body and soul, in good and evil, in joy and sorrow, in light and darkness, in power and weakness, in life and death: *All is in man*, both Heaven and Earth, stars and elements; and also the number Three of the Deity; neither can there be anything named that is not in man; all creatures (both in this world, and in the angelical world) are in man. All of us, together with the whole essence of all essences, are but One Body, having but one body, having many members, each member whereof is a *total*; and each member hath but one several work."

All arts and sciences, according to Behmen, spring from the sidereal spirit of the world. The seven liberal arts flow from the seven *spirits* of nature. All human things are

composed of "the first four properties," *bitter, sour, heat and pain*. The spiritual corresponds to the natural world—indeed, all things are identical—the method of grace is the method of nature. Men are purified, precisely as metals, from the dross in which they are enveloped.

The above however, is a very general account of Behmen's system, and will give but a faint conception of its singular boldness and extravagance. A little more detail, therefore, may be needed to set its peculiarities, both as to dogma and method, before the minds of our readers.

It will be understood, of course, that the system is, properly speaking, ecstatic and transcendental, depending upon no exercise of reason, as such, or any authoritative form of external divine Revelation. For although Behmen admits the supreme authority of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, he rejects their merely literal or "historical" interpretation, as the basis of faith. Within what we call the Word of God, he finds another Word, corresponding to the essential Word, Logos or Reason of God, common to the writers of the Holy Scriptures, to himself and to all men, the all pervading and all comprehending Light, which at once illumines all spheres of existence, and the minds of all created intelligences. In his view, man, as finite, is an outbreath or emanation of the Deity, and thence is possessed of the same substance, and in his sphere, the same mode of existence. In this respect, God, nature and man are identical, God being the infinite source of all. But as man is created a free, responsible will, it is possible for him, by sin, which is the domination of the flesh over the spirit, to fall out of the life of God, into a mere selfish and perishable life. The possibilities of this exist in man, nay, exist in the very nature of God, as creative or manifested in the universe, and have been realized through the fall of man.

In order then to return to his "Centre" and "Matrix," to use a favorite expression of Behmen's, man must renounce his outer self-hood, and fall back into the Godhead. He must resume his place in the centre and abyss of his original and perfect existence. This is done through Christ, who is God and man at once; so that, by faith in him, the regenerate spirit becomes a partaker of the divine nature, and thence immortal. His body, too, becomes immortal by participation of the immortal body of Jesus Christ. Man, in fact, is the mirror of the Deity, and must find God in himself. This is the true Kingdom of the Father and the Son, who are one in him—this is the home of glory—the spiritual temple of the divinity—the true church and dwelling of the

Holy Spirit. All things therefore in God, and by consequence in heaven, earth and hell, may be revealed, in silence and rapture, to such a soul. He is inspired as much as Paul or John; he is a true prophet of the Almighty, an organ of all the gifts and graces of the Sacred Paraclete. To this state Behmen claims to have attained. He sees all things by an inward light. He sees them in their deepest grounds and essences. He knows therefore and reveals the procession of the divine nature, from the deep silence and eternal abyss, that is, the absolute existence or entity, in itself unknown, incomprehensible and unrevealable; to us therefore a sort of Nothing, like the Nothing or abstract Possibility of Bruno, Spinoza and Hegel. But this unknown ground of existence, is revealed to itself by a desire or attractive power, and thus the Word, or the Son of God, is eternally begotten, and thence proceeds outwardly, by productive will or energy, which is the Holy Spirit. So that in the essential ground of the Deity we have the distinctions of the Trinity, which pass into manifested reality, and reveal themselves to us as Father, Son and Holy Ghost. In these are found Behmen's three great principles, which are reproduced and reflected in nature and in man. For as God is trinal, so nature, and man, and each individual soul, are also trinal.

His mode of explaining these mysteries is cabalistic and rhapsodical, and of course by no means clear or coherent to ordinary thinkers. One of the longest of his treatises is devoted to an elucidation of these three principles, as developed in what may be called the genesis or process of God, the universe and man, especially in "the Threefold Life of Man, through the Three Principles." "Wherein," he says, "is clearly shown that which is Eternal, and that which is Mortal. And why God, who is the highest Good, has brought all things to light. Also, why one thing is contrary to another, and destroys it; and then what is right, (or true,) and what is evil, (or false,) and how the one separates itself from the other. Wherein especially the Three Principles are founded, which are the only original or Fountain whence all Things flow, or are generated. Whereby the Multitude of Meanings or Opinions about Faith or Religion may be known; and what is the cause of the multitude of Opinions among Men, concerning the Essence and Will of God; also what is best for Man to do, that he may attain the highest and eternal Good. And then concerning the End and event of All Things; why all Things have appeared in such a Property and Essence as they have had; for the comfort of the poor wounded sick Soul of Man, and for the Rebuilding or Edifi-

cation of the true Christian Religion; wherein the Anti-christ stands quite naked and revealed. Set down for a Remembrance to ourself, and for a support, to uphold us in these distracted miserable 'Times."

Such are the contents. The following is a portion of the first chapter, which we copy literally, as a fair specimen of Behmen's manner.

"When we consider the beginning of our Life, and compare the same with the Eternal Life, which we have in the promise, we cannot say nor find that we are at home in this life. For we see the beginning and the end of the outward life, as also the total decay and final corruption of our bodies; and besides we see or know of no returning into this [outward] life, neither have we any promise of it from the high and eternal Good.

"Seeing then there is a Life in us which is Eternal and Incorruptible, wherewith we strive after the highest Good; and a life (from this world) which is finite and corruptible, and also a life in which the source and original cause of Life standeth, wherein the highest danger of Eternal Perdition, misery, and calamity doth consist; therefore it is of necessity that we consider the beginning of Life, from whence all these things proceed and have their original.

"So now when we consider the life, what it is, then we find that it is a burning Fire, which consumeth, and when it hath no more [fuel] to feed upon, it goeth out; as may be seen in all Fires. For the life hath its nourishment from the body, and the body from the food; for when the body hath no more food, then it is consumed by the fire of the life, so that it fadeth and perisheth, as a fair flower, when it hath no water, withereth.

"But seeing there is in Man a life which is Eternal and Incorruptible, which is the soul, which is also a Fire, and hath need of nutriment as well as the Elementary life hath, therefore we ought to consider the property and food of that life, what that is which continually feedeth it, so that it never goeth out in Eternity.

"And thirdly we find in the life of our souls, that there is in it a greater hunger after another higher and better life, *viz.* after the highest Good, which is called the *Divine Life*; insomuch that the soul is not contented with its own food, but it desireth, with great longing and panting, the highest and best Good, not only for a pleasant habitation, but in a hunger for a food.

"And so now we perceive, in our very great and true knowledge, that every life desireth its [own] Mother, (out of which the life is generated) for a food; as the Wood, which is the Mother of the Fire, that the Fire desireth to have, and if it be severed from its Mother it goeth out. In like manner, the Earth is the Mother of all Trees and herbs, and they desire it; and the water (with the other Elements) is the Mother of the Earth, or else it would be dead [or barren], and there would grow neither metals, trees, herbs, nor grass out of it.

"We see especially, that the Elementary life consisteth in a boiling, and is a [kind of] seething, and when it leaveth boiling it goeth out: also we know that the Constellations kindle the Elements, and the Stars are the Fire of the Elements, and the Sun kindleth the Stars, so that there is a boiling and seething amongst them: but the Elementary life is finite and corruptible, and the life of the soul is Eternal.

"Now seeing it is Eternal, therefore it must also be from the Eternal; as the dear *Moses* hath written very rightly of it, *That God breathed into Man the living breath, and so Man is become a living soul.*

"Yet we cannot say, though indeed Man standeth in a *Threefold Life*,

that each life is apart in a several form; but we find that they are in one another, and yet each life hath its own working in its dominion, *viz.* in its Mother: for as God the Father is all, because all cometh from him, and he is present every where, and is the fulness of every thing, and the thing doth not comprehend him; also the thing is not God, nor his Spirit, nor the true *Divine Essence*; so that it cannot be said of any comprehensible thing, that it is God, or that God is here present more than in other places, and yet he is really present, he containeth the thing, and the thing containeth not him; he comprehendeth the thing, and the thing comprehendeth not him; for he dwelleth not in the thing, but in himself, *in another Principle*.

"So also is the soul of Man breathed in from God; it dwelleth in the body, and is environed with the Spirit of the Stars and Elements, not only as a Garment covereth the body, but it is infected with the Spirit of the Stars and Elements, as the Pestilence or other [infectious] disease infecteth the Elementary Spirit, so that it poisoneth its body, and so it decayeth and dieth, and then the source [or property] of the Stars also breaketh itself off from the soul, and consumeth itself: whereby the Elementary Mother breaketh off, and so the Spirit of the Stars hath no more food, and therefore consumeth itself, but the soul remaineth naked, because it liveth by another food."

The theologer then shows that the soul is out of its "original band," or unity, and must press back out of the life of the stars and elements into the life of God.

"Therefore the Life of God came to us, out of Love and Grace, into the Flesh, and took our human soul again in it into the Divine Life in the power of the Light, that we might here be able to press into the same life to God in a New Birth. For, as we went wholly with the soul of *Adam* out from the life of God, (for the children of *Adam* have inherited [all] from their Parents soul, being sprung wholly [from them] as from a Tree) so also hath the life of God in Christ regenerated us again, so that we *can* enter again, in the life of Christ, into the life of God. And thus now our soul standeth in the Band of the Eternal Original, infected with the spirit of this world, and captivated by the wrath of the original, in the life of the eternal fire, *viz.* in the *Eternal Nature*; therefore we must, every one of us by ourselves, press with our soul in the life of Christ, to God, into the *New Regeneration* in the life and spirit of Christ: and here no hypocrisy, appearing holiness, or any meritorious works, will avail any thing, for the poor soul can *no other way be helped*, except it enter into itself (in a new created will) with steadfast earnest purpose and resolution, into the life of Christ; and then it will be received, with very great Glory by God and his children, in the second Principle; and the noble precious Treasure (*viz.* the Light of the Eternal Life) will be given to it, which enlighteneth the source [or property] of the soul in the first Principle, wherein it standeth substantially with its *Essences* for ever, and turneth the anguish into love, and the rising and burning own property into an humble lovely mirth in meek joy.

"And thus the soul is a joyful habitation in the Divine Life, as if I should liken it to a kindled Light, when the wick of the Candle burneth, and casteth a pleasant light, [or shineth bright] and hath no pain in the shining, but a lightsome pleasantness, and yet the wick continueth burning: yet you must understand, that there is in the burning wick no pain or woe, but that there is only a cause of the glance of life; for no *fire* is comparable to the *Divine* [fire]."

Behmen proceeds with still greater intricacy of thought

and obscurity of language to explain how all things, and the soul of man among the rest, spring from the original ground or Matrix in the nature of God; how the Word and Will or Spirit of God is in all things, darkness and light—sweetness and bitterness—happiness and misery—body and soul, earth and elements, sun and stars, heaven and hell; how all contraries meet and contend in the very nature and constitution of things, and especially in the soul and destiny of man. “Therefore I will show you,” he says, “what we are, in soul and body, also what God, Heaven and Hell are; do not take it to be a fiction (opinion or conceit,) for it demonstrates itself *in all things*; there is nothing so small but it stands manifest therein, and do not blindfold yourselves in your base pride and conceitedness, but search the *Ground of Nature*, and then you shall understand all things.” * * *

The pure Deity is in all places, in all corners, and present everywhere all over: the birth of the Holy Trinity in one essence is everywhere: and the angelical world reacheth to every part, wherever you can think, even in the midst of the earth, stones and rocks: as also *Hell* and the kingdom of God’s wrath is *everywhere* all over.” Thus God as manifested, or as Behmen would say, generated eternally from his own essential Ground or Nature, sums all things in himself—he is heaven, he is hell—he is light, he is darkness, he is joy, he is misery—a sun to illumine, vivify and cheer—a fire to scorch, burn and destroy. Not that God, or even nature, is essentially imperfect—but the very reverse. Still in manifestation, and so to speak, application and working, these principles and results are generated. Man is free, as God is free; but man is exposed to perdition, and by the abuse of his free will, actually falls into it. Instead of a central sun to bless him, God is a consuming Fire to destroy him. To this, also, all nature corresponds; for that has a similar source. It springs from “the abyss,” in which all contraries are generated, all possibilities developed. So that life and death, heaven and hell, are equally from God. For while God is Love, and the fountain of all perfection and joy, “God,” says Behmen, “is also an Angry, Zealous or Jealous God and a Consuming Fire; and in that source (or quality) standeth the Abyss of *Hell*, the anger and malice of all the Devils, as also the Poison of all creatures; for it is found that without poison and eagerness [*passion?*] there is no Life; and from thence ariseth all contrariety and strife.” Thus there is effort—eagerness—anguish and strife in all life. Thus even in God himself as manifested or generated, there are all powers and possibilities, anger and love, heaven and

hell. So also in man the same three principles of essence and development hold true. He is a sort of "fire centre," like the "fire centre" of the Deity flaming up and producing, by contrariety and anguish, all possible good, all possible evil. From an abysmal ground or essence he thus becomes known to himself, and is united to external things. He generates feeling, purpose and act, and goes forth, as a working will, into nature and time. Thus in his soul as centre, in his will as generative purpose—and in his embodied action, he corresponds to the Trinal manifestation of God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. He too in his sphere, has all possibilities within him—good and evil, right and wrong, heaven and hell. He is thus one with God and one with nature, and represents them both. He belongs to both, has his true home in both. In a word, he is "the *microcosm*," corresponding to "the *macrocosm*," *the little world to the great world*, or *the little universe to the great universe*. His soul or intelligence corresponds to all other souls or intelligences, whence he may know all their thoughts, all their feelings; his body corresponds to all other bodies, so that by knowing his body, he may know all other bodies. All creatures are in him, whether beasts or reptiles. All other forms are in him—he represents them all in his own structure. Not only this but he has special relations to the sidereal heavens. They constitute and control him. He may constitute and control them. All pass out of him, all pass into him. Here we see the germ of Swedenborg's peculiar system of physiology; and not only so, but the first faint outlines of the systems of Lamarck, Oken and the author of the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation."

Behmen's three great principles are illustrated or symbolized in the style of the old alchemists and astrologers, by *Sulphur, Mercury and Salt*.

And here we quote a passage in explanation of these, which is at once curious in itself, and a striking proof of Behmen's unconscious temerity and absurdity. We must premise, however, that many of his terms, such as *wheel, fire, flash, sharpness, tincture*, and so forth, are to be understood symbolically. Some of them also have reference to certain symbolical figures on the margin of the text, in the form of circles, angles, crosses, etc.

"The *Philosophers* and high knowers of *Nature*, write, that *Nature* consisteth in three things, *viz.* in *Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt*, which is very right: but the simple will understand nothing therein: and although the apprehension of it was open to the *wise* [so that they *understood* it] yet at this present time, *very few* understand the *Center*, but they have it in the *History*, as also

[they have] the *Divinity* or Theology from the mouth of the *Apostles*, which at present is also no other than a *History* without the power and the living Spirit, (which was among the *Apostles*) as is clearly testified by their contentious disputations, lip-labour, and *dead Letter* [in their Teachings].

"Now seeing we have through the Divine Grace attained the *Light*, and are able to know the Center, which is the *Birth of our life*: we have power to demonstrate it, and show what is comprized and understood in the three words, *Sulphur*, *Mercury*, and *Salt*: not that we thereby despise the ignorant blindness: but as a Christian we would willingly afford and show *them* the *Light*. And although our speech seemeth simple, yet our knowledge, meaning, and apprehension is very *Deep*: none should be offended at the simple speech: as if we had *not* the deep apprehension. Let him but read it with a true earnestness, and consider seriously of it, *in the fear of God*, and he shall find well enough what Spirit's child we are in this writing, but we would have him faithfully warned, concerning the scorners and hypocrites.

"As is mentioned concerning the *Sulphur*, the Center is and may very well be called *PHUR*: but if the *Light* be generated, the light that shineth out of the *PHUR* is called *SUL*, for it is the *soul* thereof. And as I say of the dark Center, wherein the Divine *Light* is generated, the same I say also of *Nature*: though indeed they are one: but we must so speak, that we might bring it into the thoughts of the Reader, that he might *incline* his mind to the *Light*, and so attain it.

* * * * *

"Further concerning the *Birth of Nature*, we give you to understand this by way of similitude: When the flash shineth thus in the sour anguish, then there is a very great crack, which the sourness captivateth, and terrifieth much more, for its dark propriety in the sour *Death* is killed in a moment, so that it loseth its sour propriety and sinketh back, and can no more attract so strongly; and then the flash goeth directly through the *sting* of the raging of the whirling wheel: where the sting must spread forth on each side, and the flash goeth through the *midst*; and so the wheel cometh to be a *Cross*, and can no more whirl about, but standeth shivering in the sharp *Might* of the *Will* of the *Eternal Liberty*, which is *God the Father*.

"And now when the strong sourness hath captivated the flash of the *Liberty*, that it loseth its propriety; then the *fourth form* (*viz. the Salt-Spirit*) is generated: for the stern harshness becometh pliant from the fire and the crack; and yet retaineth the sharpness; and so this form is like a sharp *Water-Spirit*: and the flash (*viz. the crack*) is the *third form*, and maketh in itself in the sour killed-anguish a *Brimstone-Spirit*.

* * * * *

"And thus understand us rightly, what the *Wisemen* of old have understood by the three words, *Sulphur*, *Mercurius*, and *Sal*: though they all could not apprehend the high *Light*; yet they understood it well enough in the light of this world, *viz. in the third Principle*, all of which hath one and the same understanding and meaning; only they *understood not* the three *Principles*; or else they *had known* *God*; and so they remained in the light of this world as *Heathens* with their understanding. For they have found the *soul* of the four *Forms* in the light of the virtue of the *Sun*, and the *second Principle* was no further revealed to them.

"There the soul standeth in the *Eternal Band*, and there, in the *Cross* of *Nature*, out of the *Original Eternal Will*, is the *Eternal Word* Generated, which is the *Maker* and *Creator* in *Nature*, and this hath been hidden to them, even to this very day: but the *Time* discovereth it, where it standeth as a *Banner*: of which [shall be spoken] in its place.

"And deep considerate Reason hath it very clearly in our description, what *Sulphur*, *Mercurius*, and *Sal* are: for *SUL* is the soul, and is a *Brimstone-Spirit*, which hath the flash of fire with all *Forms* in it; but if the power

and light of the Sun operate therein (seeing the soul standeth in flesh and blood) the Sun with its friendly beams, maketh out of the sour Salt-Spirit, *an Oil*, and kindleth the Fire: and so the Brimstone-Spirit burneth, and is a *Light* in the Essences: and out of the anxious Will cometh the Mind: and out of the wheel of the Essences come the thoughts: for the virtue of the Sun hath also the mind, so that it doth not stand in the Anguish, but rejoiceth in the virtue of the Light."

No one must conclude from all this that Behmen holds that God is generated or has a beginning, according to the ordinary sense of these finite and imperfect terms; or that there is anything in him akin to wrong or evil; or that man has no distinct personal existence; or that he is under any necessity to sin; or that he must be saved or regenerated in an arbitrary way, for all this Behmen expressly denies. The moment too, he escapes from the region of speculation and mystery, from entities, essences and quiddities, into the clear light of practical piety, he becomes solid and instructive. His spirit rests quietly in God and goodness, aspiring to glory, purity and immortality. But his rage for explaining all mysteries and answering all questions is immense. He hesitates at no difficulty. At the slightest hint he plunges into the abyss, and imagines that he is exploring its profoundest depths. If Dr. Edward Beecher wishes to know the history of souls, human and demonic, Behmen will inform him. Like the author of "*The Conflict of Ages*," he scouts the idea that they are now newly created. Nay, he holds that, with the exception of the first man, who according to his system, was at first both male and female, and thence a source of all human generation, souls are not created at all. They are simply generated or produced, like branches or leaves, from a single root or tree. Thus, in his "*Answers to Forty Questions*," he replies to the Tenth, "*Whether is the Soul Ex Traduce, and propagated after a human bodily Manner*, or every Time new created, and breathed in from God?" as follows:

"I very much wonder what kind of Understanding and Philosophy the world now has, that it cannot resolve this; yet I do not blame you; for I know such questions are agitated by those, that account themselves learned Doctors in the Schools and Universities, who make great disputations about it. I cannot but wonder at the proud blindness, that there is no knowledge at all of God in Reason.

"Now therefore, ye wise men, behold yourselves what you are, and what you understand; you understand even nothing of the Mystery, how will you then be teachers? It were better for you to carry a Shepherd's Crook in your hand, than to put on the garment of Christ.

"O! you shall give an account for your seducing of the world; and yet you vaunt yourselves, as if ye were God, and arrogate Divine Power to yourselves: Take heed what you do; you shall see against whom you have kicked: I fear you are for the most part of you in *Babel*; awake, it is Day.

"To you, my beloved friend, I give this Answer: That the Soul is not every time new created and breathed in, but is propagated after a human manner, as a branch grows out of a Tree, or, as I may better render it, as a man sets or sows corn or seed, and so a Spirit and Body grows out of it.

"And this only is the Difference; that the three Principles are always in strife about Man; each would fain have him; so that many times a wonderful *Turba* is introduced, while yet he remains in the seed.

"But if the Parents, both Father and Mother, have their Souls clothed with Christ's flesh, the Divine Essentiality, then it cannot be: For Christ saith, a good Tree cannot bring forth evil Fruit; yet the *Turba* in time can enter in with the Reason.

"So also an evil Tree cannot bring forth good Fruit; that is, if both the Parents be evil, and held captive by the Devil, then an evil Soul is sown; but the Principles cannot yet judge it, nor the *Turba* neither; It is indeed an evil Child, yet if it turns, it may, with the Imagination, enter into the Word of the Lord.

But it is rare, and seldom comes to pass, that a black Raven becomes white; but where there is but half in half, there it may more easily be done; but however it is possible, it may very well be: God casteth no Soul away, unless it casts itself away; every Soul is its own Judgment.

"Consider this, ye evil Parents; you gather money for your Children; get them good Souls, that is more necessary for them."

On the relation of children to their parents in connection with the subject of baptism, we have been much interested in Behmen's explanation, as he holds opinions partly akin to that of Dr. Pusey, and partly to that of Dr. Bushnell, as developed by the latter in his treatise on Christian Nurture. After having spoken of the relation of nature to the child, and the passage, through the parents, of their peculiar temper, whether as good or bad, regenerate or unregenerate, into the child, he says:

"Therefore has God, through Christ, instituted *Two Testaments*, one [Testament] (for little Children) in the Holy Ghost, who performs the Office, who chiefly manages the office in the *Baptism*, and makes in the water of the Soul a water of life in his virtue; and one [other Testament] (for poor sinners that are more in years, to understand it) in the Word of Life, as in *Flesh and Blood*, where the Word, viz. the Heart of God chiefly manages the Office, and feeds with his body, and gives his blood for drink; which Testament with *Flesh and Blood* belongs to the Tincture of the fire-life to the soul; and the Testament of *water* belongs to the Spirit-life, viz. to the other Tincture, and yet is but one Man: But before the Birth of Christ, the Devil used great Treachery, and wrought much mischief with Man, in that he spiritually possessed them, [as may be read concerning the Idol Oracles,] and here [in the Baptism] his trade and handicraft was laid aside; for Christ erected for the Children a *Laver of Regeneration* in the Holy Ghost, (for a Child hath not faith as yet, also there are very few that learn [or are taught] what Faith is,) that there might be one Testament that might preserve poor ignorant Man.

"Not that the Holy Ghost alone baptises, indeed he chiefly manages the Office, and takes the virtue of the Number Three wherewith he Baptizes; and so when the Baptizer saith, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; then the Holy Ghost takes hold in the Number Three, and Baptizes in the Water of the Soul, in the Water of Life, which is in the blood of the Tincture, which contains the Spirit-life, viz. the

second Center of Nature ; and so the spirit of the soul receives the virtue and Office of the Holy Ghost, and here lies the *Mysterium Magnum*, [the Great Mystery.]

"Dear Brethren in *Babel*, do not so dance about on the outside of the Mystery, enter in, or else you are *not* the Ministers of Christ : if you cannot apprehend this, yet continue in the Faith on the Word : But when you say Christ's Testaments are *only signs and not substance*, then you are the *Anti-christ*, and deny the Deity, and are not capable of the Office : You cannot baptize the Child, but the *Congregation of God*, (which hath the Faith,) Baptizes it. A keeper of sheep, or a keeper of swine, that simply believes that baptism is a Great hidden Mystery, wherein the Holy Number Three Baptizes, and that himself is but the Servant, Minister, or *Instrument*, which performs only the outward work, he in his simplicity baptizes *much better than you do*."

Behmen, as an inspired Seer, who believes in the essential unity of things, sees all truth mirrored not only in nature and the soul of man, but in language. He has great confidence in the mystical import of words and even of letters. His paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, on this ground, is a great curiosity. It is as fanciful as can be imagined, and yet singularly striking, and sometimes beautiful. The *Unser Vater, Our Father*, becomes, by this mode of treatment, wonderfully prolific of deep philosophy, theology and devotion. As an illustration of his mode of unfolding the mystic force of letters, we give his explanation of the word *JEHOVAH*, much in the style of the Jewish Cabala :

"The Ancient Rabins among the *Jews* have partly understood it ; for they have said that this Name is the Highest and most Holy Name of God ; by which they understand the working Deity in Sense : and it is true, for in this working sense lies the true life of all things in Time and Eternity, in the Ground and Abyss ; and it is God himself, *viz.* the Divine working Perceptibility, Sensation, Invention, Science, and Love ; that is, the true understanding in the working unity, from which the five senses of the true Life spring.

"Each Letter in this Name intimates to us a peculiar virtue and working, that is, a Form in the working Power.

J

"For **I** is the Effluence of the Eternal indivisible Unity, or the sweet grace and fullness of the ground of the Divine Power of becoming something.

E

E is a threefold **I**, where the Trinity shuts itself up in the Unity, for the **I** goes into **E**, and joineth **IE**, which is an outbreathing of the Unity in itself.

H

H is the Word, or breathing of the Trinity of God.

O

O is the Circumference, or the Son of God, through which the IE and the H, or breathing, speaks forth from the compressed Delight of the Power and Virtue.

V

V is the joyful Effluence from the breathing, that is, the proceeding Spirit of God.

A.

A is that which is proceeded from the power and virtue, viz. the wisdom ; a Subject of the Trinity ; wherein the Trinity works, and wherein the Trinity is also manifest.

"This Name is nothing else but a speaking forth, or expression of the Threefold working of the Holy Trinity in the unity of God. Read further of this in the Explanation of the Table of the three Principles of the Divine Manifestation."

Behmen indulges in the most fiery invectives against the formal religionists of his day. He pours upon the ministers of "Babel," the "wolves in sheep clothing," the miserable "sophisters of this world," the most unmitigated abuse. But in his own view, he speaks prophetically; and feels, therefore, as all fanatics feel, that he has a right to chastise, as with scorpions, all who oppose his views, or deny his inspiration. We do not wonder, therefore, in view of his violent abuse, that he stirred up the rage of the dominant clergy, or even of the civil authorities, charged as they supposed themselves, both among Catholics and Lutherans, to punish heresy and schism. Notwithstanding all this, it is evident that Behmen was a man of a quiet and humble spirit. Strong, sensitive and brooding, like all deep poetical or mystical natures, he clung to his convictions as infallible truth. What he knew he knew for certainty. It was to him no fancy or abstract, or even deduction, but a vision and a reality. He *saw* God and heaven and hell, and therefore he *knew* God and heaven and hell. Thence, his style is stern, authoritative and even fiery. He brooks no opposition, and consigns to perdition all doubters and opposers. And yet he hoped for the salvation of all, even among Turks and heathen, who fear God, and long for purity. He has great tenderness and sympathy for weary souls. He longs to see all regenerate spirits united in one holy church. He hates dogmatism and division among sects. He would bring all into blessed peace and concord in the

bosom of God. In this view, the following passage is truly affecting:

"Dear Brethren and Sisters in the Congregation of Christ, bear with us: Let us a little rejoice one with another: We bear a hearty love towards you, and speak *from the Spirit of our Mother*, out of the Spirit of the Eternal Wisdom of God, [*viz. from the Spirit of humility.*]

"We will speak friendly with you concerning our Mother, and concerning our native Country. We will speak of *Great Wonders*, how things go with us all, and so we will comfort ourselves, for we are in a strange Country: We will persuade one another, and agree, and will go home into our own Country, to our Mother: O how will she rejoice when she sees her children [come to her into the Eternity:] We will tell her of the *Great afflictions* which we underwent in *Jericho*, we will speak of the great danger we were in among many evil Beasts: We will speak of the Driver or Oppressor, who held us so long captive, and we will speak *how* we were *freed* from him: Let us be unanimous, that our Mother be not grieved and offended with us.

"*Rejoice ye Heavens with us, and let the Earth be glad, for the Praise of the LORD goeth over all Mountains and Hills: He openeth the Doors for us, that we may go to our Mother: Let us rejoice and be glad, for we were born blind, and now we are come to see: Open the Gates of the LORD ye servants of God, that the Virgins with their Music may go in; for that is the Dance wherein we shall rejoice and be glad with the Virgin, saith the Spirit of the LORD of LORDS.*

"O Beloved Children of Men, even *all* that have proceeded and been generated from *Adam*, in every Island and Country, wheresoever you dwell, by what name soever you are called: Observe, The God of Heaven and Earth, who has created us all, and begotten us out of one Body, who giveth us life and breath, who preserves our body and soul: He calls us *all* into one Love: You have gone astray a long while, for you have followed human *inventions* and *opinions*, and the Devil has deceived you, so that you hate, persecute, and murder one another, and are utter enemies one against another. Open your Eyes, and see: Have we not all one *and the same breath*, and are Generated from one *and the same soul*? We have all of us one God, whom we honor and worship; that very one God has created us *all*: Moreover, we have one and the same Heaven, which is God's, and God dwells therein: We shall all meet together at the Last Day who have trusted in God, why therefore do we so long dispute about God and his Will?

"If we lift up our Hearts unto him, and yield ourselves to him in obedience, *then we are all in his will*: None can thrust us out of it. We all stand in this life, in a field, and are growing: The Stars and the Elements are the field wherein we grow: God has sown us therein: *Adam* is the first Grain that God himself did sow, and out of that Grain we *all* grow, we are all from one seed, we are all Brothers and Sisters.

"But the Devil has sown weeds amongst us; he has sown no Man, (for that he cannot do in Eternity,) but he hath blinded us, and has sown, *Pride, Envy, Anger, Covetousness, and Evil will, [or Malice,]* into our Mind, therewith to destroy us, for he grudged us the prerogative to be Children of God in the place he was in: He is fallen away from God, through Anger, Pride, and Envy, and has turned himself away from God, and therefore he will deceive us, that his own kingdom may be great.

"O dear Children, *trust him not*; for where God sows his good seed, the Devil follows and sows weeds among it. This you see in the Doctrine of *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, also in *Christ's* doctrine: They all preached the way of God in one and the same love, and directed us unto the living God, and that we should go out from our evil fleshly Lusts, (from lying and

falsehood, from uncleanness, from covetousness, from murder, and theft,) and enter into a pure chaste humble life in the fear of God, and wholly put our Trust in him as his children, and acknowledge him for our Father, and then he will give us rain and blessing to our body and soul, and will after this life take us to himself into his kingdom, where we shall all be Eternally freed from our afflictions. This, and no other, is the Doctrine of *Moses*, of the *Prophets*, and of *Christ*, that we should love one another, as one [and the same] Life, and God in Us."

We do not know that it is necessary for us to signalize, with any precision, the errors of Behmen, as our readers can do this for themselves. He exaggerates the great truth upon which all mysticism rests, which has in it an element of goodness and power, namely, that God as a Spirit is to be spiritually known, and hence that his nature and will must be revealed to faith, including the conscience and the affections, rather than to the mechanical reason, or the mere finite understanding. His method, in the last result, is entirely subjective. The individual soul is made the measure of all things—the source of all knowledge, the fountain of all inspiration. God himself is humanized—subjected to finite and human modes of thought, feeling and conception. It is true that the soul is a vehicle and even a source of knowledge. Nor can it be questioned that God is to be found rather within than without. But the light which illumines the spirit, the light which judges and controls all its decisions, must come from above. That light is in the Holy Scriptures, which, by the blessing of God, in answer to prayer, must make us wise unto salvation by faith in Jesus Christ. "The entrance of thy words giveth light." To this infallible standard, therefore, all our reasonings, imaginings and visions must be brought, "To the Law and to the Testimony, if they speak not according to these, there is no truth in them." Practical matters are clear; "deep things" belong to God. But we too belong to God, and we are "made partakers of his nature." We enter into his love and blessedness. Our spirits rest only in him. Here is true knowledge—here is the glory and the joy of the soul. So far then as this is concerned, we acknowledge an element of truth in the system of Behmen.

It was by clinging to the Bible, however, and above all to the Divine Word in the Bible, the Lord Jesus Christ, as Incarnate Love, Truth, Holiness and Power, in other words, "God manifest in the flesh," that Behmen, notwithstanding all his errors and fantasies, was kept in faith and humility at his Master's feet.

Practically he was a good man, a devout Christian, and an honest shoemaker. His constant aim was the promotion of

piety and virtue. God and goodness, in his view one, were the polar star of his mystic life. He was averse to all evil, pride and contention, and insisted with earnest eloquence that good men of every name ought to love one another. "The various flowers," says he, "which stand all in the earth, and grow near each other, contend not, by reason of the difference of their color, smell and taste; but blooming in quiet beauty, each receives the varied influence of earth and sun, of the rain and wind, of heat and cold, bringing forth its own peculiar properties. Even so it is with the children of God—who have various gifts and degrees of knowledge, yet all from one spirit. They all rejoice in the manifestation of the great wonders of God, and give thanksgiving to the Most High. Why then should they contend about Him in whom they live and have their being?"

Behmen died in 1575, by no means an old man. His death was striking and beautiful. It occurred in the morning amid the brightening splendors of the rising sun. After partaking of the sacrament from the hands of the Lutheran clergyman, he lay quietly as if in slumber. Rousing himself he asked what o'clock it was. On being told that it had struck two, he replied, "that is not my time, my time is three hours hence." In the mean while he was heard to utter these words, "O Thou strong God of hosts, deliver me according to thy will. O Thou crucified Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me and receive me into thy kingdom." He asked his son, just as the light of day was pouring in at the windows, and flickering on the marble brow of the dying man, "if he heard that excellent music;" and being answered in the negative, he requested the door to be opened, that it might be the better heard; as if it were floating on the still air from far off worlds; though doubtless it was but the melody of his own departing spirit chiming with the rhythm of eternity. Behmen, however, regarded it as "the still small voice of God," calling him to glory.

"Hear ye not those tones excelling? Blessed sound it strikes and falls,
Oh Lord of hosts 'tis thy small voice that to my spirit calls!"

When it was near six o'clock, he took leave of his wife and sons, gave them his blessing, and said—"Now I go hence into Paradise." Then bidding his son turn him toward the wall, he expired with a gentle sigh.

"Oh was it not a marvel, in such an hour to see
How God did loose the fetters of his mind's long phantasy;
How one like him so overwrought, who had leaped beyond all rules,
To plunge in depths, untrod alike, by sages and by fools,

'Rapt in the holy Sabbath'—'trod the centre and the ground
Of man's hidden nature'—'shadowed over with a mystery profound,'
'Heard the tones and felt the touch of God'—in 'seven days vision dim
Saw the Spirit throned in thousand lights'—'held his peace and worship-
ped Him.'

To think that such a mind and man, on this his dying day,
Like a river issuing bright and swift from weeds which clogged its way,
Heard but the Heavenly Shepherd's voice, as the shadowy vale he trod,
Then laid him down, like some dear child, and slept, to wake with God."

While Behmen's errors have been freely admitted, his profound genius and virtue have also been extolled by some of the greatest thinkers. Most of the German philosophers write of him with reverence. St. Martin propagated his fundamental views in France. Schelling, no mean judge, praises him as a wonderful, though erring man. Coleridge, as already stated, acknowledges his obligations to Behmen, and assigns to him his true place, in the realm of thought, in the following characteristic allegory. Distinguishing the fanatical or bigoted, from the merely enthusiastic and harmless mystic, he says, ("Aids to Reflection" p. 338:)

"Let us imagine a poor pilgrim benighted in a wilderness or desert, and pursuing his way in the starless dark with a lantern in his hand. Chance or his happy genius leads him to an *oasis*, or natural garden, such as in the creations of my youthful fancy, I supposed Enos the child of Cain to have found.*

"And here hungry and thirsty, the way wearied man rests at a fountain; and the taper of his lantern throws its light on an over-shadowing tree, a boss of snow-white blossoms, through which the green and growing fruits peeped, and the ripe golden fruitage glowed. Deep, vivid and faithful are the impressions which the lovely imagery comprised within the scanty circle of light, makes and leaves on his memory. But scarcely has he eaten of the fruits and drank of the fountain, ere scared by the roar and howl from the desert he hurries forward; and as he passes with hasty steps through grove and glade, shadows and imperfect beholdings and vivid fragments of things

*"Encintured with a twine of leaves,
That leafy twine his only dress!
A lovely boy was plucking fruits,
In a moonlight wilderness.
The moon was bright, the air was free,
And fruits and flowers together grew
On many a shrub, and many a tree,
And all put on a gentle hue,
Hanging in the shadowy air
Like a picture rich and rare.
It was a climate where they say
The night is more beloved, than day.
But who that beauteous boy beguiled,
That beauteous boy to linger here?
Alone by night, a little child,
In place so silent and so wild—
Has he no friend, no loving mother near?"

distinctly seen, blend with the past and present shapings of his brain. Fancy modifies sight. His dreams transfer their forms to real objects; and these lend a substance and an outness to his dreams. Apparitions greet him; and when at a distance from this enchanted land, and on a different track, the dawn of day discloses to him a caravan, a troop of his fellow-men, his memory, which is itself half fancy, is interpolated afresh by every attempt to recall, connect, and piece out his recollections. His narration is received as a madman's tale. He shrinks from the rude laugh and contemptuous sneer, and retires into himself. Yet the craving for sympathy, strong in proportion to the intensity of his convictions, impels him to unbosom himself to abstract auditors, and the poor quietist becomes a penman; and, all too poorly stocked for the writer's trade, he borrows his phrases and figures from the only writings to which he has had access, the sacred books of his religion. And thus I shadow out the enthusiast Mystic of the first sort; at the head of which stands the illuminated Teutonic theosopher and shoemaker, honest Jacob Behmen."

NOTE.—Instead of "The Call to the Unconverted," referred to on p. 441, the reader will please substitute "Serious Call to a Holy Life," as the title of Law's book.

ART. IX.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, illustrated in a series of Expositions. By JOHN BROWN, D. D. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1854. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 645, 599.) Dr. Brown has become somewhat widely and favorably known by his Exposition of I. Peter and his "Discourses on the Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah." The work before us will serve to enhance his reputation as a sound and judicious biblical interpreter. It partakes of the same general characteristics of the author's former works. The design of Dr. Brown has been to consider those detached portions of our Lord's history, which invite attention either from their intrinsic interest, or from the difficulties which have been supposed to surround them. Yet he has succeeded in imparting to his work a unity which gives it all the attraction and value of a continuous treatise. It is in the truest sense an Exposition, and yet it is fraught with the best qualities of the discourse or lecture. It combines the results of severe exegetical examination, with rich and appropriate doctrinal and practical suggestions. We have been instructed and edified by the perusal of these volumes. They will be equally valuable in the minister's study, and in the Christian family.

Apocalyptic Sketches: Lectures on the Book of Revelation. First and Second Series. By Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D. D. (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1854. 12mo, pp. 512, 532.) Dr. Cumming is a very prolific writer. It would be strange if, while writing so much, he should write uniformly well. We think that his general style indicates a want of preparation. He is far from being a profound man, though he is very popular as a preacher. His works evince some tact and fine rhetorical qualities, without much logical power, or extensive culture. He skims the surface of things in a very graceful manner, but he can hardly be said to do more. Yet his works have met with a great sale in England, and we should infer from the fact that, on this side of the Atlantic, we have three separate issues of them, that they also meet with large favor here. Dr. Cumming is a believer in what is called the Millennium, and that it is just at hand. The first series of these Lectures traces the leading events in the history of the church, as disclosed in the symbolism of the book of Revelation, from the beginning of the Christian era until the second coming of our Lord. He is very positive as to the designation of the highly mystical predictions of this difficult book. There is a tone of dogmatism in his manner which is sometimes almost offensive; a matter which is not relieved by the feeling which will occasionally obtrude itself on the reader, that the author may be mistaken. The second series treats chiefly of the glorious things of the Millennial state. It is enriched

with the sweetest effusions of the writer's fancy, and the choicest gems of his rhetoric.

We have from the same publishers another volume from the pen of Dr. Cumming, which we can more fully appreciate, *Lectures on our Lord's Miracles*. (12mo, pp. 378.) The author has succeeded, in this work, in giving a popular and highly satisfactory exposition of the miracles of our Lord, and we hope it may be read extensively.

We have heretofore taken occasion to speak in commendatory terms of Dr. Kitto's *Daily Bible Readings*. We have received the last volume of the Evening Series, which treats of *The Apostles and Early Church*. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1854. 12mo, pp. 448.) This volume, which, like its predecessors, contains somewhat elaborate Expositions of detached portions of the sacred Record, gives some very interesting views of the labors of the Apostles, and the rise and growth of the church during the first century. In many respects, we regard this as the most valuable number of Dr. Kitto's excellent series.

The Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistles of John and Judas, and the Revelation: Translated from the Greek, on the basis of the common English Version, with notes. (New York: Am. Bible Union. 1854. 4to, pp. 253.) This, so far as we know, is the first issue of the American Bible Union's Revision of the English Scriptures. And this we are informed is not final, but is thrown out now merely to obtain criticisms and suggestions for use before the board of final revisers. The work appears to have been done on the principle of altering the words of the received version, in as many instances as possible, and in this particular it has been thoroughly done. The revised version is, in the main, a vastly nearer approach to a literal rendering of the Greek than the common version; and in some instances it is as much more obscure, (not to say insipid,) as it is more literal. We can not better illustrate our meaning than by giving portions of the common and revised versions in parallel columns. We give a part of the first chapter of Second Peter:

Common Version.

"SIMON Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained like precious faith with us through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ:

2 Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord,

3 According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that called us to glory and virtue:

Revised Version.

"SYMEON Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to those who have obtained like precious faith with us in the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ;

2 Grace unto you and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord.

3 Forasmuch as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him who called us by glory and might:

Common Version.

4 Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises; that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.

5 And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge;

6 And to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness;

7 And to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity.

8 For if these things be in you, and abound, they make *you that ye shall* neither be barren or unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

9 But he that lacketh these things is blind and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.

10 Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall;

11 For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Revised Version.

4 Whereby he hath given unto us the exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might become partakers of the divine nature, having escaped from the corruption that is in the world through lust:

5 But for this very reason also do ye, contributing all diligence, furnish in your faith, fortitude; and in fortitude, knowledge;

6 And in knowledge, self-control; and in self-control, patience; and in patience, godliness;

7 And in godliness, brotherly kindness; and in brotherly kindness, love.

8. For these things being yours, and increasing, render *you* not idle nor unfruitful as to the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

9 For he that lacketh these things is blind, being near-sighted, having forgotten the cleansing away of his old sins.

10 Wherefore the rather, brethren, be diligent, to make your calling and election sure; for, doing these things, ye shall never fall:

11 For so there shall be richly furnished unto you the entrance into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Now, we think that the revised version is, with two or three exceptions, a more literal rendering of the Greek text, than the other; but it loses more in perspicuity and elegance than it gains in literalness. What is true of this passage is quite as true of the other portions of the revised Scriptures, in this volume. Of course, the alterations of the reviser will be subjected to a searching examination, before they are finally adopted by the Bible Union; and we think we may confidently look for the removal of most of the crudities which here meet us.

Though we should be unwilling to accept this revision in the place of the common version, it is only justice to say, that the work displays extensive and minute research, and considerable learning. As a work of reference for the study of ministers and biblical students, it possesses very great value. The critical notes are copious, and embody one of the fullest compendiums of references, relating to the books treated, with which we are acquainted. The English version, the Greek of Bagster's edition, and the Revised version, are printed in parallel columns, thus affording the learned reader the means of grasping the whole subject at once. If the American Bible Union should do no more than to issue the respective portions of the Bible after the manner

of that before us, the science of biblical criticism will be laid under great obligations to its labors. For this installment of their work, we can heartily thank them: for what is to come, we are disposed to wait in hope.

Among the numerous criticisms which Dr. Edward Beecher's "Conflict of Ages" has called forth, we have received one entitled *The Divine Character Vindicated, a Review, &c.* By Rev. MOSES BALLOU. (New York: J. S. Redfield. 1854. 12mo, pp. 412.) Mr. Ballou is a veteran controversialist, and some of the positions taken in Dr. Beecher's book were too much in accordance with his notions of the divine administration, not to be made the basis of an argument in favor of his theory. The notions of "honor and right" which Dr. B. urges with so much confidence against the view that mankind became sinners in consequence of Adam's transgression, are seized upon by Mr. Ballou, to show that men are not depraved in any radical sense, and that they are in no danger of eternal misery. We do not accord with his reasoning on this point, but we are free to say that, as between him and Dr. Beecher, he seems to have the better part of the argument. If Dr. Beecher maintain himself, it must be by means of his theory of Preëxistence; but we think Mr. Ballou has entirely demolished this. The argument of Mr. B. seems to reduce him to the necessity of modifying his notions respecting "honor and right," or of abandoning his theory of sin and its punishment. But we have not the space to enter into this question. Mr. Ballou's book is written in a good spirit, and with apparent candor.

A Defence of the Eclipse of Faith, by its Author: being a rejoinder to Prof. Newman's Reply. (Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1854. 12mo, pp. 208.) We gave our views of the predecessor of this volume, several months since. The "Defence" differs from "The Eclipse" only in its cast, which is more controversial. The design of the author is the same in both volumes. It is not so much to demonstrate the truth of Christianity, as to turn the weapons of its enemies on themselves. This he succeeds in doing with wonderful effect. The blows of his "Eclipse" called out Prof. Newman with a somewhat acrimonious "Reply." The volume before us is the author's rejoinder. It is marked by the strong peculiarities of the former volume. Here the author has a real adversary, a skeptic speaking in his own proper person, representing his own views; and his dialectical skill appears to better advantage than it did in the dialogues of the *dramatis personæ* of his former work. Those who admired the preceding volume should by all means obtain this.

We have elsewhere spoken of Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D. D., of London. We have before us four volumes of his works from the press of John P. Jewett & Co., Boston. One entitled *The Church before the Flood*, is designed to show that "Christianity was first in Paradise," and contains a delineation of the state of the world and the church, before the flood. Then we have three companion volumes, respectively entitled, *Voices of the Night*,

Voices of the Day, and *Voices of the Dead*. These volumes are full of very interesting matter. The first is a survey of the present state of the church, the second is an attempt to unfold the glories of the approaching Day, and the third presents incentives from the lives of departed worthies, for the church to wake out of sleep. They are deeply impregnated with Dr. Cumming's Millenarianism. We think this series is in his best vein.

Theological Essays and other papers. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1854. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 310, 276.) The edition of De Quincey's writings, published by Messrs. Ticknor, Reed & Fields, has now reached seventeen volumes, and we have no intimation that we have yet reached the end. He is as versatile as he is voluminous. He has written on almost every subject in the whole range of literature, and in the volumes before us we find him descanting on Ecclesiastical politics and Biblical interpretation. There is nothing strictly "Theological" in these essays, unless the very questionable speculations "On the supposed Scriptural expression for Eternity," and those relating to the character and death of Judas Iscariot, are entitled to such a designation. But as in everything that De Quincey writes, there is much that is quaint, suggestive, eloquent and intensely interesting. We need only give the paternity of the volumes to secure readers.

The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy. By ORDERICUS VITALIS. Translated, with notes, by THOMAS FORESTER, M. A. (London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1854. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 495, 524.) Ordericus Vitalis was born in England, of French parents, in the latter part of the eleventh century. At the age of ten years he was placed in a monastery in Normandy, where his father, having lost his wife, had taken the habit of a monk. Ordericus also became an ecclesiastic, but devoted the greater portion of his time to literary pursuits. His principal work was the celebrated "Ecclesiastical History," a part of which is before us: This history, consisting of thirteen books, was originally published, we believe, in Duchesne's *Historiæ Normanorum Scriptores* in 1619. This work is valuable as containing much authentic information relating to the history of England, not found in any other author; though it is characterized by those vices of nearly all the medieval historians—credulity and superstition. The volumes before us contain eight of the thirteen books of which the original history consists.

History of Oliver Cromwell and the English Commonwealth. By M. GUIZOT. Translated by ANDREW R. SCOBLE. (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1854. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 426, 511.) These volumes comprise a part of M. Guizot's view of English history from the reign of Charles I. to the deposition of James II. The history of the first period, embracing the Revolution which resulted in the death of Charles I., was published several years since. The volumes before us cover the second period, embracing the administration of Cromwell. Like everything that Guizot writes, they are

able, and characterized by a profoundly philosophical spirit. Yet we think that he fails to do justice to the character and aims of Cromwell. The ability, the energy, and the glory which characterized the Protector's administration are conceded, but the purity of his life, his rectitude and his patriotism, are scarcely recognized. Indeed, we doubt if M. Guizot is qualified to appreciate the character of Cromwell, or to estimate his true and essential greatness. Instead of regarding him as a great man raised up by Providence to secure the reign of constitutional freedom and the rights of conscience, he is able to see in him only an ambitious demagogue elevating himself by means of his country's disasters. But notwithstanding this defect of the volumes before us, they are fraught with great interest, and deserve a place in every well-arranged historical collection.

History of the Protestant Church in Hungary, from the beginning of the Reformation to 1850; with special reference to Transylvania. Translated by Rev. J. CRAIG, D. D., of Hamburg. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1854. 12mo, pp. 559.) In an Introduction contributed to this volume, Dr. Merle D'Aubigné assures us that its material is collected from the most authentic sources, and that it may be regarded as perfectly reliable. It is a companion volume to his own great work. It is written with spirit and a good degree of candor. The picture which it presents of Protestantism in Hungary is one of wrong and persecution on one hand, and of faith and patience on the other. Its artistic qualities are by no means what we could desire, but on the whole it affords a very graphic and vivid view of the subject which it treats. Its perusal has tended to excite in us a deeper commiseration for that oppressed people of whose brave struggles and untoward fate the world has recently heard so much, and to fill us with a more profound detestation of their oppressors. The blood of martyrs in the cause of Christ, and of crushed freedom, is crying from the ground for vengeance on a tyrannical government and a cruel hierarchy.

History of the French Protestant Refugees from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to our own days. By M. CHARLES WEISS. Translated by H. W. HERBERT, with an American Appendix, by a descendant of the Huguenots. (New York: Stringer and Townsend. 1854. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 382, 419.) This is a work of sterling character. M. Weiss possesses some of the most admirable requisites for a Historian. He displays great research, and his tact is manifest in the weaving of materials gathered from so many sources, into a compact and classic narrative. His impartiality is attested by the candid manner in which he states the errors of the Huguenot leaders during the reign of Louis XIII., and the favorable view he gives of the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin. He is remarkably free from passion; and the injustice of the Romish persecutors of the Huguenots appears all the more revolting from the judicial calmness of the historian. We have no other work which covers the same ground with this. Ranke's "Civil Wars and Monarchy in France," only brings us down to the death of Henry

IV., and Browning's "History of the Huguenots" ends with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Mr. Weiss is the only historian who has followed the men "who kept the faith so pure of old," to the various lands of their exile, recording their fortunes, and tracing their influence, and that of their descendants, on the literary and material interests of the states which sheltered them. The translation is very well done, and the volumes are issued in a highly creditable style.

History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By EDWARD GIBBON, Esqr. With variorum notes, including those of Guizot, Wenck, Schreiter and Hugo. Edited by an English Churchman. (London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1854. Vols. 1 and 2, 12mo, pp. 522, 560.) It is superfluous to say anything in commendation of Gibbon's immortal work. It is only necessary for us to say that this edition has been carefully edited, and furnishes an ample antidote to the faults which are so generally deplored in the work of the historian. It is published uniform with Bohn's new series of "British Classics."

One of the most important issues of the American press during the last quarter is *The Life of Archibald Alexander*, D. D., first Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D. D. (New York: C. Scribner. 1854. 8vo, pp. 700.) We regret that our limited space precludes the insertion of the notice we had prepared of this volume. We must content ourselves for the present with barely calling attention to it, hoping to devote more space to it in a future number of the Review.

History of Greece from the earliest times to the Roman Conquest. With supplementary chapters on the history of literature and art. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D. Edited with an appendix by G. W. GREENE, A. M. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854. Small 8vo, pp. 655.) Dr. Smith has become well known through his dictionaries of "Greek and Roman Antiquities," "Biography and Mythology," and "Geography," as a ripe classical scholar. The literary world was thus prepared to receive the work before us with confidence; a confidence which will not diminish by an examination of its contents. Dr. Smith takes the History of Grote as the basis of his own, and has succeeded in giving, in a greatly condensed form, the substance of that great work. As a school history it is superior to anything we know. It is issued in the usual substantial style of the Harpers, and is illustrated with one hundred engravings.

The veteran Col. Benton has furnished the world some valuable reminiscences of his political life, entitled *Thirty Years View; or a History of the working of the American Government, from 1820 to 1850.* (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. Imperial 8vo. pp. 739.) It is almost needless to say that this book contains much deeply interesting information. It is for the most part a history of Col. Benton's political action from 1820 to 1837—

the balance of the thirty years being reserved for a second volume. We could have wished to find more details concerning the secret history of the great questions in which the renowned senator has borne a part, and more of those personal reminiscences of which he has given us such charming specimens in the present volume. But though greater prominence might have been given to these things, still the volume has great value, and is deeply interesting. It will of course be extensively read.

Records of the Life, Character and Achievements of Adoniram Judson. (New York: E. H. Fletcher. 1854. 12mo, pp. 456.) There was probably little to be said concerning the life and labors of Dr. Judson besides what has been well known to the Christian public for years. The eyes of the Christian world have been upon him during so many years, and everything emanating from his pen, or relating to him, has been read with such avidity, that the events of his life had become as "familiar as household words." Yet such a life deserves to be commemorated. The church of Christ has an interest in it, which ought to be perpetuated in the purest and most enduring records. The Memoir of Dr. Wayland, issued with the sanction, and, indeed, under the supervision of the recently deceased wife of Dr. Judson, must, of course, be regarded as the most complete and authentic history of that devoted man. But such is the interest of the subject that it is not surprising that an attempt should have been made to condense the leading incidents of his life into smaller space, thus bringing them within the reach of thousands whose limited means render it difficult for them to avail themselves of the larger work. We have read the volume before us, and find it to be a straight-forward, reliable narrative, with no incurable blemishes, and yet with no pretensions to literary merit. A prevailing tone of heaviness, and occasional inelegance, are its chief faults. To balance these, it is characterized by great directness, and, so far as we are able to judge, by perfect accuracy—certainly no mean excellences. It is issued in a substantial manner, and is illustrated by several engravings.

The American Baptist Publication Society has issued a *Memoir of Mrs. Sarah D. Comstock*, missionary to Arracan. By Mrs. A. M. EDMOND. It is a valuable addition to the stock of religious biography. Mrs. Comstock was a gifted and devoted woman, and Mrs. Edmond has rendered an important service in furnishing this simple story of her life and labors. We commend it to our readers.

The Catacombs of Rome as illustrating the Church of the first three Centuries. By the Rt. Rev. W. I. KIP, D. D. (New York: J. S. Redfield. 1854. 12mo, pp. 212.) Bishop Kip has here condensed the more important discoveries recently made in those remarkable subterranean abodes of the church, during the first centuries, which have been justly regarded as among the most solemn and impressive vestiges of Imperial Rome. Of course, he finds something in the monuments of the Catacombs to sustain his Episcopal dig-

nities, and the claims of his church; yet his work is interesting to all Christian antiquarians, and is valuable as throwing light on the manners and Christian life of the early Christians.

Life in Abyssinia: being notes collected during three years' residence and travels in that country. By MANSFIELD PARKYNS. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 360, 355.) These volumes are full of information respecting a country which has been, until within a few years, a kind of *terra incognita*. A volume from the pen of Bishop Gobat afforded the fullest information respecting that region and its modern inhabitants, which we have possessed until the publication of Mr. Parkyns' very amusing sketches. The first volume is a record of his personal adventures, and the second is occupied with a full and apparently correct survey of the country and its productions, and of the religion, laws, habits, occupations, &c., of the people. It is a very interesting and instructive work.

Narrative of a Voyage to the North-west Coast of America, in the years 1811, 1812, 1813 and 1814. By GABRIEL FRANCHERE. (New York: J. S. Redfield. 1854. 12mo, pp. 376.) This work, which was originally published in French, and was referred to as an authority on the Oregon Boundary question, by Col. Benton, in 1846, has been translated by J. V. Huntington, and issued in the best style of Redfield's press. The Narrative of Mr. Franchere is remarkably clear, and presents a deeply interesting account of the first settlements on our Pacific coast.

We have found pleasure in reading a work by a young *voyageur*, entitled *Melbourne and the Chincha Islands*; with sketches of Lima, &c. By GEORGE W. PECK. (New York: C. Scribner. 1854. 12mo, pp. 294.) Mr. Peck's sketches are light and graceful, and abound with information of a highly useful character. His descriptions of natural scenery and objects, are especially graphic and lifelike. Occasionally he uses expressions too little familiar to the common reader, as, for instance, when describing the trunk of the gum-tree, he talks of "unpicturesque nodosities and tuberos contortions." Still, his book is an excellent one, and we cordially commend it to our readers.

The present war between Russia and Turkey has called out several works relating to the countries and peoples more immediately implicated in the results of the pending struggle. First, we have *Russia as it is*, by Count A. DE GUROWSKI, from the press of the Appletons. This volume presents a very full view of the government, nobility, army and navy, serfdom, &c. The author is thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and we presume his statements may be relied on as correct.—Then we have M. GERMAIN DE LAGNY's work, issued by the Harpers, entitled *The Knout and the Russians*. This work is written with great spirit, and with as much candor as could be expected from a man who thoroughly hates the Russians and their entire system. It is decidedly readable. The Harpers have also issued CURZON's *Travels in Armenia*, a work written by a calm, keen observer, and valuable not only for the light

which it throws on the great European question, but also for the views which it presents of the religious condition of the people.—We have from the press of Redfield, *The Russo-Turkish Campaign of 1828 and 1829, with a view of the present state of affairs in the East*. By Colonel CHESNEY, R. A. Colonel Chesney speaks as a military man, and is therefore peculiarly entitled to audience in reference to the probable results of the present strife. He looks hopefully on the prospects of Turkey. Redfield has also issued OLIPHANT'S *Russian Shores of the Black Sea*, and SMYTH'S *Year with the Turks*, both of them works of acknowledged merit. Mr. Oliphant gives us a pretty clear insight into the character of people once subjects of Turkey, but since incorporated with the Russian empire, and Mr. Smyth gives an account of the Turks as he saw them, both in Europe and in Asia. We commend these works to all who desire to obtain the fullest information respecting the theater of the present strife, and the people involved in it.

The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Rogers, with a Biographical sketch and notes. By EPES SARGENT. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1854. Small 8vo, pp. 460.) Mr. Rogers has long been counted among the most classic poets of England. He has written less than could have been wished, but what he has written will live. Mr. Sargent has evinced rare appreciation and good taste in his editorial labors, and the general style in which the volume is issued, is worthy of the sweetest poet in the English language.

The Poetical Works of W. H. C. Hosmer. (New York: Redfield. 1854. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 274, 276.) Our readers can easily see that Mr. Hosmer's poetical contributions are considerable, at least in bulk. If they will procure his goodly volumes, they will also find that they are highly respectable in point of quality. His Indian legends display a very accurate knowledge of the character, habits and traditional lore of the aboriginal inhabitants of New York and Canada. Some of his miscellaneous pieces rank high as poetical effusions. Yet had Mr. Hosmer written less, and been more intent on finishing his productions, he might have presented us *one* volume of poetry, more creditable to himself and more acceptable to the public, than the present *two*.

We have received Vols. IV. and V. of Putnam's fine edition of *The Works of Joseph Addison*, edited by Prof. GREENE. We have before spoken of this edition, and take occasion to commend it again to our readers. The present volumes contain Addison's contributions to the Spectator.

Select Speeches of Kossuth. Condensed and abridged with his express sanction, by FRANCIS W. NEWMAN. (New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 12mo, pp. 445.) Our readers will long retain the impression of the wondrous eloquence of the former Governor of Hungary. The speeches which he delivered in this country, or nearly all of them, are condensed, so that the volume before us embraces their substance. All who had the privilege of

hearing the great Hungarian will desire to furnish themselves with his speeches, which have been very judiciously arranged by Prof. Newman.

The Works of Plato: A new and literal version, chiefly from the text of Stallbaum. By GEORGE BURGESS, M. A. Vol. vi. (London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1854. 12mo, pp. 531.) This volume contains the doubtful works of Plato, with the Memoirs of Diogenes Laertius, and Olympiodorus, the Dissertations of Alcinous and Albinus, and the Notes of Gray. It constitutes in reality, an Appendix to Mr. Bohn's fine edition of Plato. It also contains an index to the entire work.

Phillips, Sampson & Co., of Boston, have recently issued a work in octavo, entitled *The Poets and Poetry of the Ancient Greeks*, with an Historical Introduction, and a brief view of Grecian Philosophers, Orators, and Historians. By ABRAHAM MILLS, A. M. The plan of Mr. Mills, as will be seen from the full title-page which we have quoted, is very comprehensive. His volume will be acceptable to those who wish to cultivate a cheap acquaintance with the literature of ancient Greece. We have also received from the same house, *The Critical and Miscellaneous Writings of T. Noon Talfourd*, and *The Recreations of Christopher North*. Mr. Talfourd was one of the purest and most classical writers of his country and his age. Christopher North, alias John Wilson, was for many years the editor of Blackwood's Magazine. Both these eminent men have recently deceased; and these volumes will be welcomed by thousands who mourn the death of their authors.

We have before us vols. 1, 2 and 3, of *The Works of William Cowper*, comprising his Poems, Correspondence and Translations. With a life of the author by ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL. D. Illustrated. In eight volumes. (London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1854.) These volumes contain Southey's life of the Poet, and selections from his letters. It is needless to say anything in commendation of the work itself. We will barely say that the edition is issued in a substantial manner, and is embellished with engravings executed in superior style.

The Works of the Rt. Hon. Joseph Addison. With notes, by RICHARD HURD, D. D., Lord Bishop of Worcester. In four volumes. (London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1854.) We have received volumes 1 and 2 of this new edition of Bishop Hurd's Addison. It is issued as a part of Bohn's new library of "British Classics." These volumes contain the poems, the "Dialogue on Medals," "Remarks on Italy," "The Tattler," and a part of the author's contributions to the "Spectator." They are printed in good-sized type on good paper, and are embellished with well-executed engravings.

Life in Judea; or Glimpses of the first Christian Age. By Maria F. Richards. (Philadelphia: Am. Bap. Pub. Society. 1854. 12mo, pp. 312.) Mrs. Richards's work is evidently formed on the model of Dr. Ware's "Zeno-

bia." The attempt to imitate such a model was an adventurous one, but in this case it has been so far successful as to command respect. We are pleased with the picture which the writer has drawn of the first Christian age. It evinces a rare combination of judgment and imagination. We commend this volume to our readers.

We have received from L. Scott & Co., 79 Fulton St., New York, their republications of the Foreign Reviews. *The Edinburgh* for April opens with an elaborate article on "Mormonism." It also has an able article on "John Locke and his Philosophy," and another which is quite interesting on M. Weiss's "History of the French Protestant Refugees." There are several other valuable articles in the number. *The London Quarterly* for April contains eight articles. The most interesting among them are those on "Sterne," "The Russian Empire," and "Treasures of Art in Great Britain." *The Westminster* as usual is able, and has much that is of a questionable character. It has a valuable paper on "Schamyl," a genial and appreciative critique on "De Quincey and his Works," and an able article on "The Balance of Power in Europe." *The North British* has among the articles of the May number several very interesting ones. The new work on "The Plurality of Worlds" is ably reviewed; there is a capital paper on "Christian Evidences and History," another entitled "Ruskin and Architecture." The number concludes with a searching examination of "Auguste Comte and Positivism." The Publishers furnish the four Reviews for the small sum of \$8 a year.

We have received the following books during the quarter. We are able to give no more than their titles :

A History of England from the First Invasion of the Romans to the accession of William and Mary, in 1688. By John Lingard, D. D., a new edition in thirteen volumes. Vol. V. Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1854. Pp. 361.

Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses connected with the regal succession of Great Britain. By Agnes Strickland. Vol. IV. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1854. 12mo, pp. 347.

A Child's History of England. By Charles Dickens. Vol. II. England from the reign of Henry the Sixth to the Revolution of 1688. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1854. 16mo, pp. 307.

Life of Rev. Jeremiah Hallock, of Canton, Conn. To which is added a sketch of the life of Rev. Moses Hallock of Plainfield, Mass. By Rev. Cyrus Yale. Am. Tract Society. 12mo, pp. 389.

The Gospel by Moses in the Book of Genesis ; or the Old Testament Unveiled. By C. H. Putnam. New York : E. H. Fletcher. 1854. 8vo, pp. 486.

Merrimack ; or Life at the Loom. A Tale. By Day Kellogg Lee. New York : Redfield. 1854. 12mo, pp. 352.

Chrystalline ; or the Heiress of Fall Down Castle, a Romance. By F. W. Shelton, author of "The Rector of St. Bardolph." New York : C. Scribner. 1854. 12mo, pp. 202.

Katharine Walton ; or the Rebel of Dorchester. By W. Gilmore Simms, Esq. New and revised edition. New York : Redfield. 1854. 12mo, pp. 474.

The Whimsical Woman. By Emilie F. Carlen. From the original Swedish, by Elbert Perce. New York: C. Scribner. 1854. 12mo, pp. 251.

Uncle Sam's Farm Fence. By A. D. Milne. With Illustrations by Orr. New York: C. Shepard & Co. 1854. 12mo, pp. 282.

Calavar; or the Knight of the Conquest. A Romance of Mexico. By Robert Montgomery Bird. New York: Redfield. 1854. 12mo, pp. 572.

Martin Merivale, His Mark. By Paul Creyton. Illustrated. Nos. 1 to 4. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1854.

Tempest and Sunshine; or Life in Kentucky. By Mrs. Mary J. Holmes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. 12mo, pp. 381.

Farmingdale. By Caroline Thomas. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. 12mo, pp. 392.

Goethe's Novels and Tales. London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1854.

Farm Implements and the Principles of their Construction and Use; an Elementary and Familiar Treatise on Mechanics and Natural Philosophy generally, as applied to the ordinary practices of Agriculture. With 200 Illustrations. By John J. Thomas. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854. 12mo, pp. 266.

Despotism in America: An Inquiry into the nature, results, and legal basis of the Slaveholding System in the United States. By Richard Hildreth. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1854. 12mo, pp. 307.

The First Class Standard Reader for Private and Public Schools; containing a summary of Rules for pronunciation and elocution; numerous exercises for reading and recitation; a new system of references to rules and definitions; and a copious explanatory Index. By Epes Sargent. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1854. Large 12mo, pp. 478.

Advanced Latin Exercises with selections for reading. American revised edition, with additions. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1854. 16mo, pp. 162.

The Dietetics of the Soul. By Ernest Von Feuchtersleben, M.D. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1854. 16mo, pp. 214.

Spots on our Feasts of Charity. Being an Exposure of the Delinquencies of Christian Professors in regard to the Ordinances of Religion, and other agencies for doing good. By Rev. William M. Thayer. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1854. 16mo, pp. 240.

Leather Stockings and Silk; or Hunter John Myers and his times. A Story of the Valley of Virginia. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854. 12mo, pp. 408.

Twenty Years in the Phillippines. Translated from the French of Paul De La Gironiere. Revised and extended by the author, expressly for this edition. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854. 12mo, pp. 372.

This, That, and the Other. By Ellen Louise Chandler. With Illustrations by Rouse. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1854. 12mo, pp. 412.

The Myrtle Wreath, or Stray Leaves recalled. By Minnie Myrtle. New York: C. Scribner. 1854. 12mo, pp. 380.

ART. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

WE are compelled to omit the greater part of the matter prepared for this article. For the current Literature of the United States we must refer the reader to the preceding pages. We subjoin a few notices of recent German announcements and issues:

Dr. A. Dillman, Professor in the Theological Faculty of Tübingen, has pub-

lished, in the form of an Excursus from his elaborate work, "*Biblia Veteris Testamenti Ethiopica*," a volume entitled, "*Das Buch Henoch. Übersetzt und Erklärt.*" The Ethiopic Bible contains several books not included in our Scriptures and Apocrypha; and the book of Enoch is one of the most curious among them. Dr. Dillman's version is said to be far superior to that of the English Archbishop Laurence, and the German and Latin versions based upon it.

A very able, and in many respects, valuable work has been issued at Halle, from the press of Pfeffer, entitled "*Die Apostolischen Väter Untersuchungen über Inhalt und Ursprung der unter ihrem Namen Erhaltenen Schriften.*" Von Adolf Hilgenfeld, Ph. D. Dr. Hilgenfeld is counted as belonging to the Tübingen school, but he is among the most moderate of the class. He avoids the sweeping generalizations of Baur in his "*Das Christenthum und die christliche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*," and is disposed cautiously to pursue particular veins of inquiry until he reaches their legitimate historical results.

Dr. Karl Zimmermann announces the appearance of his edition of Dr. Martin Luther's work, twelve volumes, octavo. It is to be issued in four divisions, viz., I. Reformatory and Polemical writings; II. Exegetic and dogmatic writings; III. Sermons and catechetical writings; IV. Letters, Circular Letters and Discourses. Two volumes to be issued every year.

The second volume of Dr. H. Heppe's "*Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus*" is just out. It contains the History of German Protestantism from 1563-1574. The third volume is to appear in the course of this year.

New editions of Tischendorf's "*Codex Amiantinus Novum Testamentum latine interprete Hieronymo*," and of his "*Synopsis Evangelica*," have been published.

The tenth and concluding number of Overbeck's "*Forty Illustrations of the Gospel*," is to be issued the present month.

Among the more important of the recent issues of the German press, we note the following:

Bibelstunden. Auslegung der heiligen Schrift für's Volk von W. F. Besser. Das Evangelium St. Johannis in Bibelstunden für die Gemeinde ausgelegt. 2 neu bearbeitete Auflage. (Halle: Mühlmann. 8vo, pp. xii., 936.)

Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Theologie überhaupt von Dr. W. Gass. 1 Bd.: Die Grundlegung and der Dogmatismus. (Berlin: G. Reimer. 8vo, pp. xvi., 488.)

Die Himmelfahrt und Vision des Propheten Jesaia, aus dem Äthiopischen und Lateinischen ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem Commentar und einer allgemeinen Einleitung versehen von Dr. H. Jolowicz. Ein Quellenbeitrag zur Kenntniss des Urchristenthums. (Leipzig: Fleischer. 8vo, pp. viii., 94.)

Geschichte der neuesten Brüderkirche von C. W. Croger. 3 Theil: 1760-1801. Mit einem Überblick bis 1822. (Gnadua: L. Kummer. 8vo, pp. x., 618.)

Schrift, Tradition und kirchliche Schriftauslegung, oder die katholische Lehre von den Quellen der christlichen Heilswahrheit und den Zeugnissen der fünf ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte geprüft von Dr. J. H. Friedlieb. (Breslau: Ad-erholz. 8vo, pp. xi., 332.)

Die Geschichte der Kirche v. Dr. J. P. Lange. 1. Thl. 2 Bd. 1. Abth. A. u. d. T.: Das apostolische Zeitalter. 2 Bd. 1. Abth. 8vo. (Schwetschke, pp. 1-480. Braunschweig, 1853.)

Dr. M. Luther's sämmtliche Werke, 57. u. 58. Band oder 4 Abth.: Vermischte deutsche Schriften 5. u. 6. Bd. Nach den ältesten Ausgaben kritisch und historisch bearbeitet von Dr. J. K. Irmischer. II.: Tischreden 1. u. 2. Bd. (Frankfort: Heyder & Zimmer. 8vo, pp. lxxvii., 836.)

Das Neue Testament, griechisch nach den besten Hülfsmitteln kritisch revidirt mit einer neuen Deutschen Übersetzung und einem kritischen und exegetischen Commentar von Dr. H. A. W. Meyer. 2. Thl.: den Commentar enthaltend. 4. Abth.: Der Brief an die Römer. 2 verbesserte u. vermehrte Auflage. A. u. d. T.: Kritischexegetisches Handbuch über den Römerbrief. 2. verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. (Göttingen: Vandehm. & R. 8vo, pp. xii., 449.)

Eine griechische Originalurkunde zer Geschichte der Anatolischen Kirche. Schreiben des Griechischen Patriarchen Maximus von Constantinopel an den Dogen Giovanni Mocenigo von Venedig, Jan. 1480, von G. M. Thomas. (München: Franz. 1853. 4to, pp. 48.)

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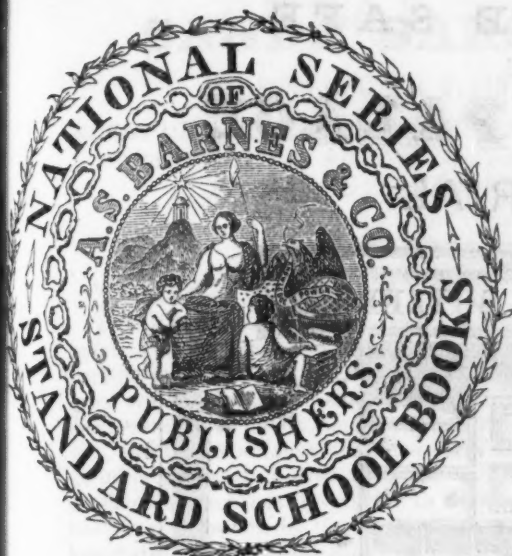
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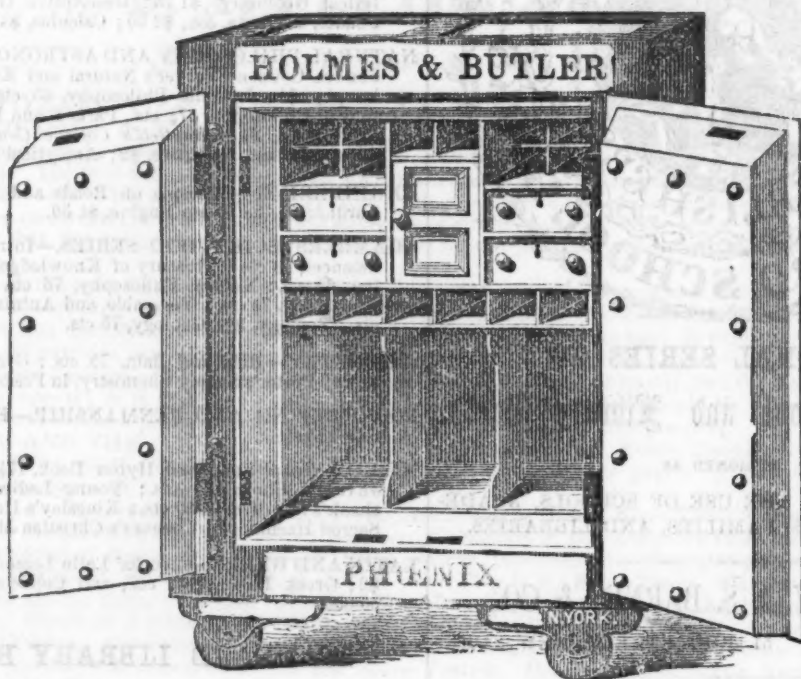
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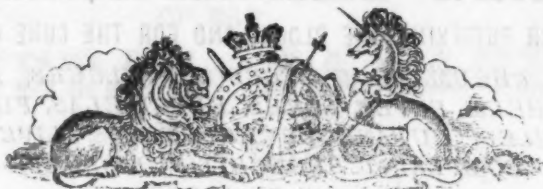
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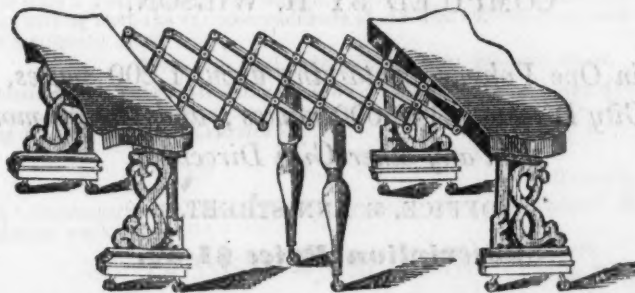
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